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Geography of Crimean jarlyks of the 15th and 16th centuries

Notes for the readers

This document contain shortened english version of my work. It can be freely downloaded from my personal site, from HTML version of work, by URL www.M-Zharkikh.name/en/History/Monographs/CrimeanJarlyksGeography.html
HTML version can be slightly modified and corrected.
There are large-scale images available in HTML version. This document contain only low-res images.

Shortened russian version (68 p.):
www.M-Zharkikh.name/ru/History/Monographs/CrimeanJarlyksGeography.html

Full ukrainian version (214 p.):
www.M-Zharkikh.name/uk/History/Monographs/CrimeanJarlyksGeography.html

This book had been written in Kyiv, November 18, 2022 (**The 268th day of the great war against Russian aggression**) – February 14, 2023; December 6, 2023 – March 1, 2024 (**737th day of the war**).
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In the Crimean Khanate for more than a hundred years (1461-1574), there was a tradition of issuing *jarlyks* confirming peace and granting lands in Eastern Europe to Lithuanian grand dukes and Polish kings.

Studying these documents has become much easier after the publication of the studio and collection of these jarlyks [*Kołodziejczyk D.* The Crimean khanate and Poland-Lithuania: international diplomacy on the European periphery (15th–18th century): a study of peace treaties followed by annotated documents. – Boston; Leiden, 2011. – 1135 p. Hereinafter abbreviated as D. K.].

Carefully annotated documents of this collection provide researchers of the history of Eastern Europe with great opportunities for studies of various topics. I will focus exclusively on the geography of the offerings in these jarlyks.

Archeography

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

NATO got scared to recognize the missile attack on the territory of Poland as Russian (as expected).

The Rotten Straw Horde rightly saw this as permission for further escalation of the war, and yesterday in Kyiv shot down the russian Kh-55 missile with an imitator **nuclear warhead**. In this way, the Pushkinists test the strength of the leaders of Ukraine.

And we must do our own things (November 18, 2022 at 10:25 a.m.).

In this subsection, I only refer to the data from Kolodziejczyk's book. The following 15 documents belong to our topic.

Comparative table

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

The following comparative table of 15 columns turned out to be extremely wide, and for technical reasons it had to be divided into four parts. Object numbers (in the first column) are given at the first mention; during rearrangements of the list, these objects appear in new positions with letter additions: 14 → 14a.

List elements consist of one or more names followed by a grant formula. It should be assumed that this formula applies to all names recorded after the previous grant formula. The formulas are quite diverse, and they are presented abbreviated in the table.

1461 – 1513

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

1. We have one word *Sczieprutezilniskiego* in the document; I think here two names are combined in one word. D. Kolodziejchyk also thinks so [D. K., p. 531].

1517 – 1532

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

1. Here is the text from the 15th book of the Lithuanian Metrics according to the 2002 edition. In the D. K. edition, at this place stands *Radogok.* Probably letters ч and г in the manuscript at this point they are poorly distinguished.

1535 – 1541

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

1. In this list is "*all the way to the mouth of Sneporod, Glynsk with people*» – it turns out that the scribe thought that Sneporod flows into the Dnieper; or, more likely, did not see afterwards *estuary* a new list item and tried to match it with *mouth*.

1542 – 1574

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

1. Wrongly divided into two words.

Undisputed geographical names

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

> The European Parliament finally recognized Russia as a sponsor of terrorism.
>
> The Rotten Straw Horde immediately responded with [massive rocket fire](#) of Ukraine: "The party said – it is necessary, the Komsomol answered – there is!"
>
> Oddly enough, Muscovites begin to do what their senior comrades tell them. So far, it's true, only mischief, but I hope to soon see positive steps, for example, a complete escape from Ukraine. I hope it happens before the rockets hit the house I live in (a possibility that can never be ruled out. Nov 24, 2022 at 8:50 am).

So, in the 15 documents of the above table, we have 681 mentions of all names. Among them are 81 unique names + 32 doublings of the same name in different positions, which together gives 113 lines.

Each position in the list is constructed according to the scheme [proper name] + [territorial unit] + [conditions of provision], and the last two components are not mandatory. I will deal with them later, but for now I will focus on the first component – names.

These names can be divided into several groups based on the ease / difficulty of understanding them.

First of all, let's consider the undisputed names. This group mainly includes the names of large cities, the identification of which does not raise any questions.

So, the evolution of the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was reflected in these lists in a generalized form and with some lag in time. There is no extraordinary historical depth here, the prototype of the list that has reached us comes from the last years of the reign of Vytautas (1425-1430), and not from the earlier time.

Other lists of towns

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

They write, that the rotten-straw nulliparous man worked so diligently on his suitcase that he broke his rectum. But this, of course, is not true:

> The deceased was such a robber,
> Such a swindler, a thief and a swindler,
> That you do not believe in death,
> Until the corpse is found.

But everyone liked recognizing Laptestan as a sponsor of terrorism, and the Polish Sejm was in favor of it voted (231 shots out of 234). And this is much worse than a broken gut, because the status of "sponsor of terrorism" is not easy to acquire, but it is impossible to renounce it. And so the Horde will be this "sponsor" until the end of its existence (I hope it will not be long. December 16, 2022 at 8:40).

In the following table, the first column is the number of the object from the higher comparative table, the second column contains names from the label of 1461, supplemented by names from later jarlyks (such entries are highlighted sandy background). Names that occur several times in the comparative table are given in the place where they are mentioned for the first time.

The third column contains the correspondents from the "List of Švitrigaila's Towns" (SGS, Latin name, its reconstruction and number according to S. Polekhov's publication [*S. V. Polekhov* "List of towns of Švitrigaila". Dating and publication. – Ancient Rus'. Questions of medieval studies, 2014, No. 4 (58), p. 111 – 125]).

The fourth column contains respondents from the "List of Russian Towns" (SRG) [Novgorod first chronicle of the oldest and youngest editions. – M.-L., 1950, p. 475].

The fifth column presents the respondents from the "Book of the Big Drawing" of 1627 (KBCH) [Book of a large drawing. – Moscow: 1950]

In general, it should be noted that a comparison of the list of names from jarlyks with other lists confirms its origin from the end of Vytautas' reign. Explanations of individual names from the mentioned lists will be useful for explaining jarlyks.

Map schemes of lists

Let's put indisputable geographical objects on the map of Eastern Europe and see what will come out of it.

List of 1461

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

> Rotten-straw anti-Dührings continue to bombard the territory of Ukraine, as a result of which in Kyiv my water, heating, electricity, Internet connection, or some combination of the above disappear time to time.
>
> And now I will write this section until the light disappears or it will be time to go in search of bread, because due to power outages, not all shops are open.
>
> But what do these minor inconveniences mean in comparison with what our soldiers on the front lines feel, who are already spending the ninth winter in the trenches!
>
> I am obliged to take advantage of the opportunity that our valiant army gives me and to continue my work (December 21, 2022 at 8:50 am).

So, the oldest and most valuable for us jarlyk was issued by the Crimean Khan Haji-Girey sometime in 1461..1463. The variation in dating is minor and irrelevant to my narrow topic – the structure of the list of names – so I will refer to it as the 1461 jarlyk. It contains 19 of the 37 undisputed names (50%), to which I added Mosalsk (*Mychalsko*, 49-1461).

The map scheme of these names looks like this:
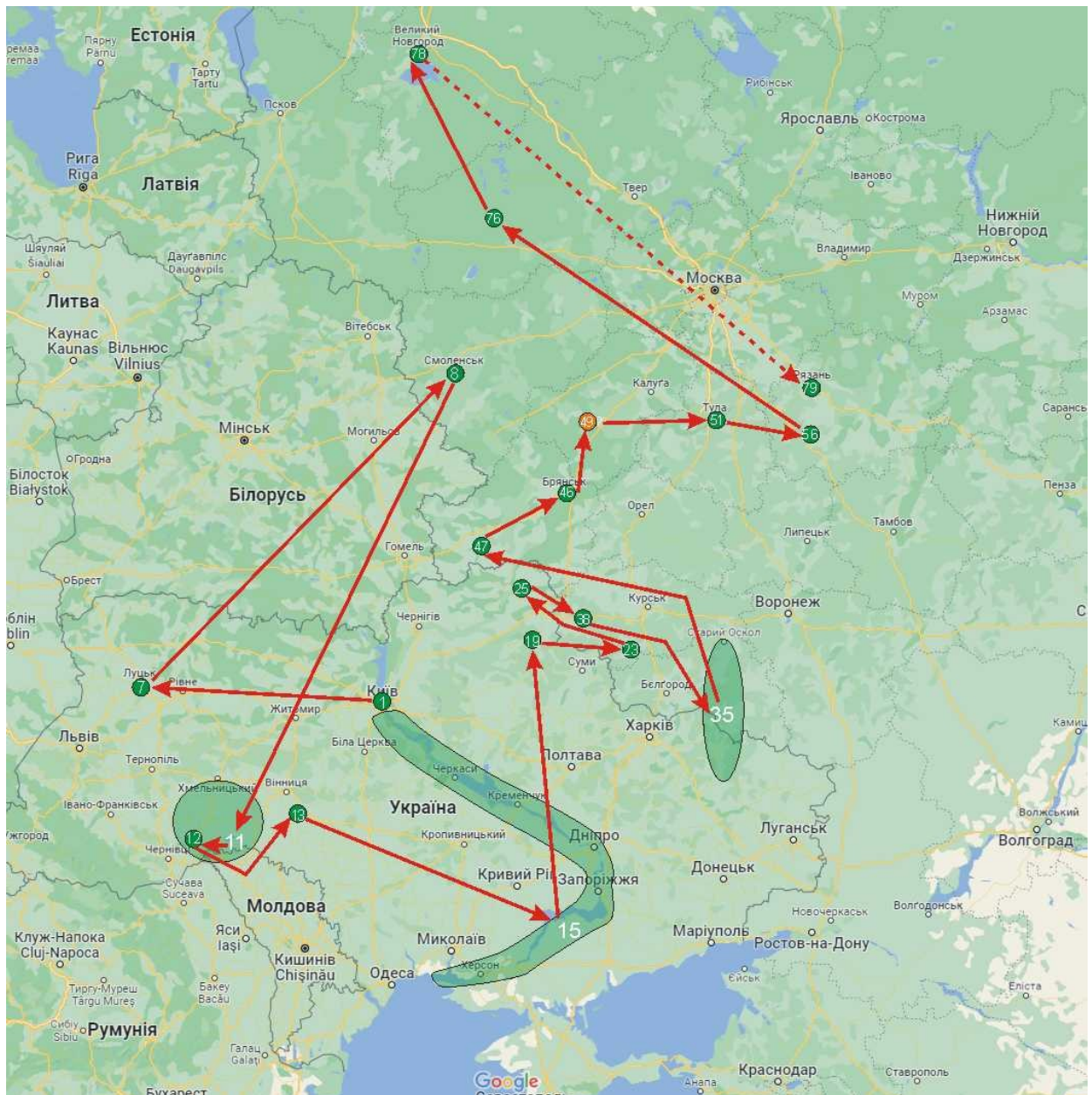
Map scheme of the jarlyk of 1461

The numbers of objects on the map correspond to the numbers of my comparative table. The arrows reflect the sequence of the transition in the list, the dotted line shows the transition to Ryazan, the place where Tula is mentioned for the second time in the text (probably a typo).

The most obvious feature that appears on the map scheme is the constant jumps in the list with the subsequent return, and geographically close objects are spread in the list to distant, non-contiguous positions.

List of 1472

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

> This week, the Armed Forces of Ukraine celebrated several anniversaries:
> – **hundred thousand** killed Pushkinists;
> – **three thousand** destroyed tanks;
> – **six thousand** destroyed rotten-straw armored vehicles;
> – **two thousand** destroyed artillery systems…
> There have been no clear advances of the front line for a long time – for a completely understandable reason. A rotten winter with constant changes of snow to rain and back to snow, with overgrown fields, rutted country roads, with trenches filled with ice water – good conditions for fighting, right?
> But even in such conditions, our soldiers destroy 500-600 hordes per day! And there, look, you will have to sing:
>> Oh, there was an army to the left!
>> Oh, there was an army war to the right!
>> And now for a hundred versts
>> Do not see anyone!
> So, I continue (December 27, 2022 at 9:00 a.m.).

The differences between the list of names in the jarlyk of 1472 and the jarlyk of 1461 are quite significant:

Map scheme of the jarlyk of 1472

List of 1507

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

The differences between the list of names in the jarlyk of 1507 and the jarlyk of 1472 are relatively small:

Map scheme of the jarlyk of 1507

List of 1513

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Once upon a time, at the end of the 14th century, when the first cannons appeared in Moscow, they were called "tyufyaks". It is said that this word comes from the Iranian word "tupang" (pipe), which indicates the source of borrowing – from Iran via the Golden Horde.

And now the technological level of the Rotten-Straw Horde has once again reached such an extraordinary height that the Hordes rejoice at the delivery of ready-made projectile planes (which are now fashionable to call *kamikaze drones*) from the same Iran.

I read that some Iranian general even boasted about it and said that the use of these shells in Ukraine shows the high level of the Iranian military industry.

I would advise this general and other leaders of Iran to check if everything is okay with their wills, because if our "Sokil-300" arrives, there may be a too late to deal with the testaments.

From Kharkiv to Tehran (via Volgograd and Astrakhan) is only 2,200 km, to Isfagan, where, they say, the factory for the production of Iranian "Shahed" is located, is 2,600 km, while the declared range of the "Sokil (Falcon)" is 3,300 km. And undeclared? Well, one day something will fly in and make "cotton" – then we will find out:

If necessary, Kokkinaki
He will fly to Nagasaki…
So, I continue (December 29, 2022 at 8:10 am).

The differences in the list of names in the jarlyk of 1513 from the jarlyk of 1507 are quite significant:
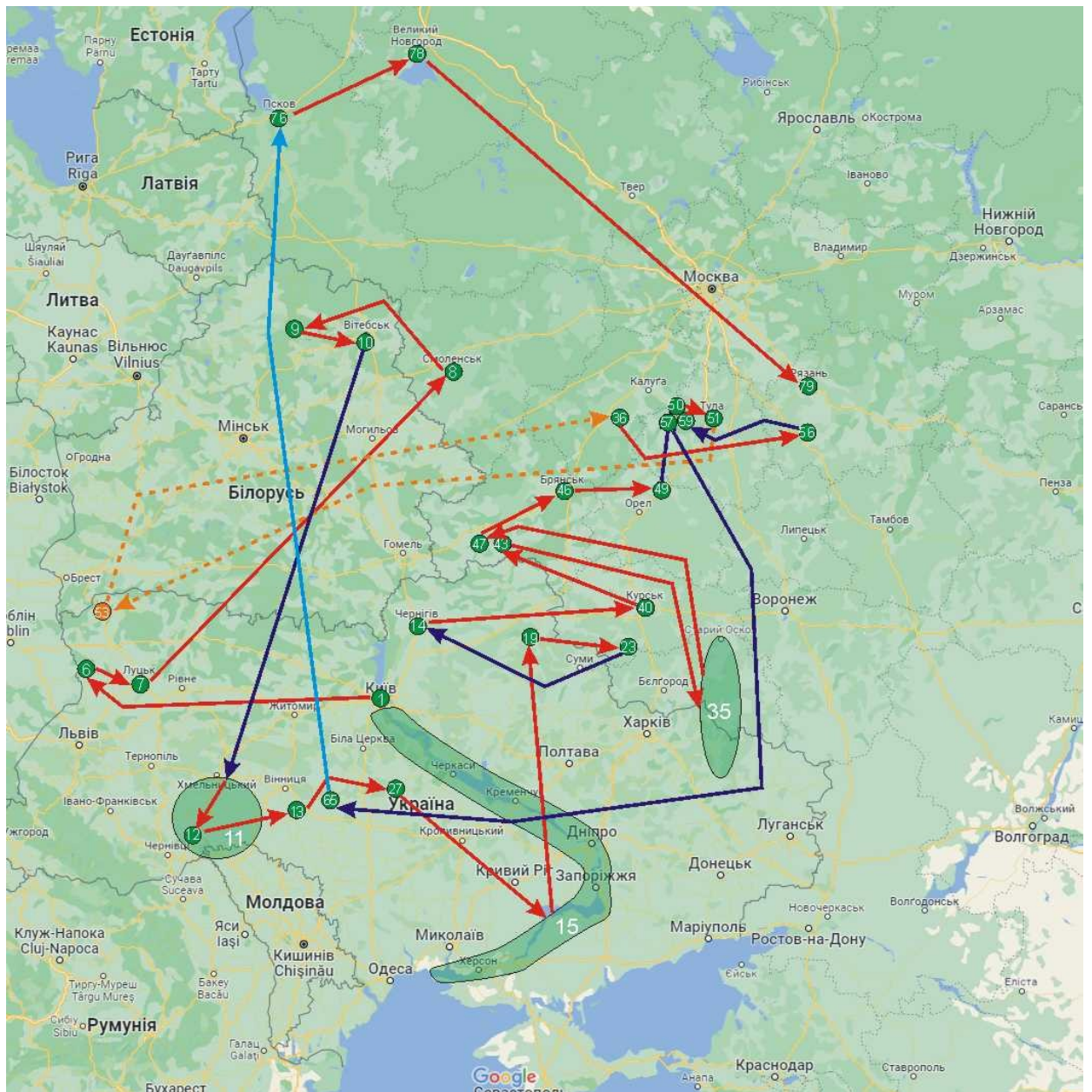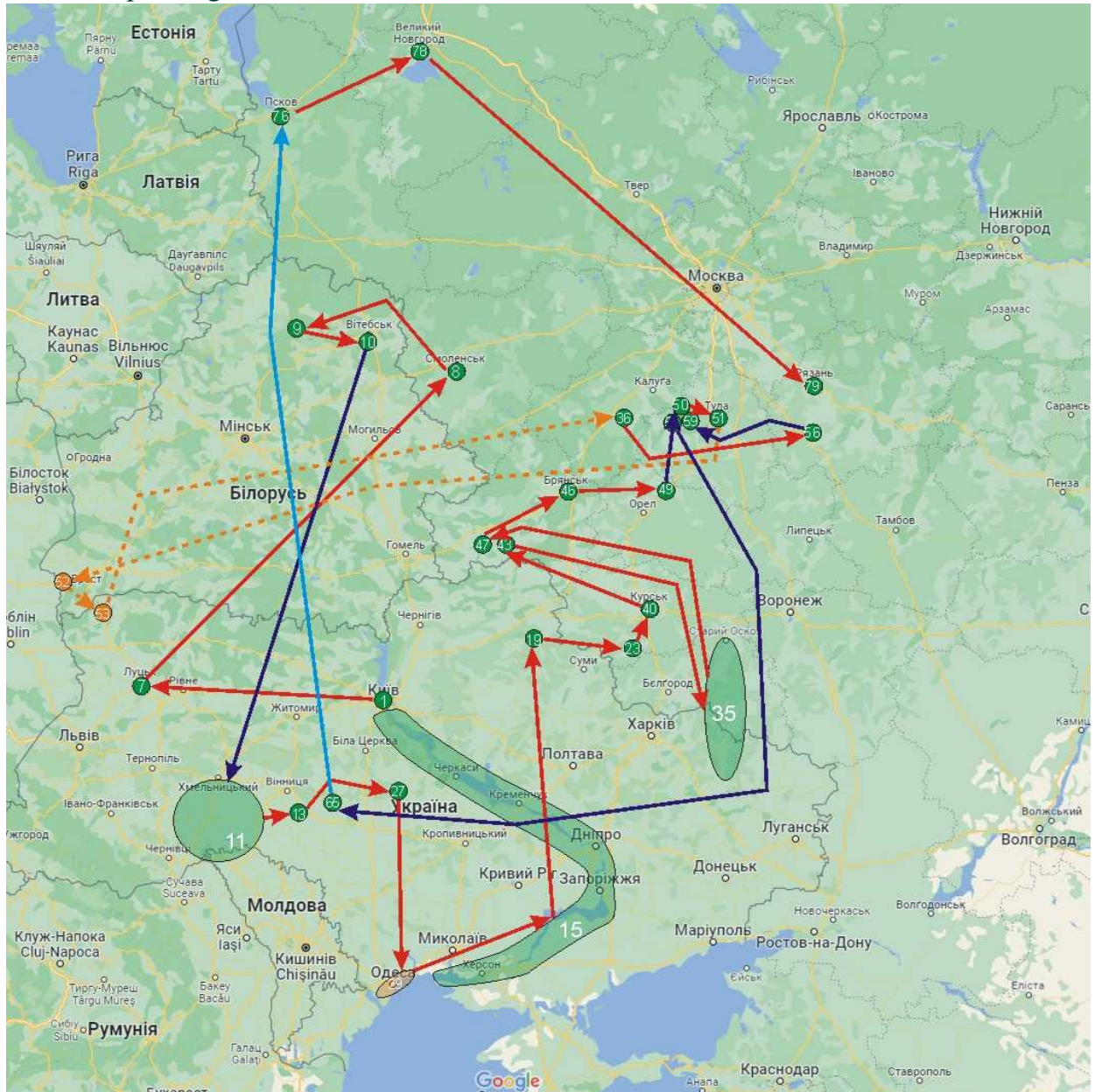
Map scheme of the jarlyk of 1513

List of 1514

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

> The sounds of explosions are coming from the window. The authorities write about the work of anti-aircraft defense, and that is probably how it is, but it is a shame that the attack equipment penetrates all the way to the last line directly above Kyiv. Well, until they did not hit me – I continue (December 29, 2022 at 9:15).

The differences between the list of names in the jarlyk of 1514 and the jarlyk of 1513 are quite significant:

Map scheme of the jarlyk of 1514

List of 1520

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

They write about the hitting of rockets in several places in Kyiv, in particular, in a private house in the Darnytsky district. And almost all Lviv after shelling – without electricity.

Well, and two battalions of Muscovites went to listen to Kobzon (December 29, 2022 at 10:30).

The differences in the list of names in the jarlyk of 1520 from previous jarlyks are very significant:

Map scheme of the jarlyk of 1520

List of 1539

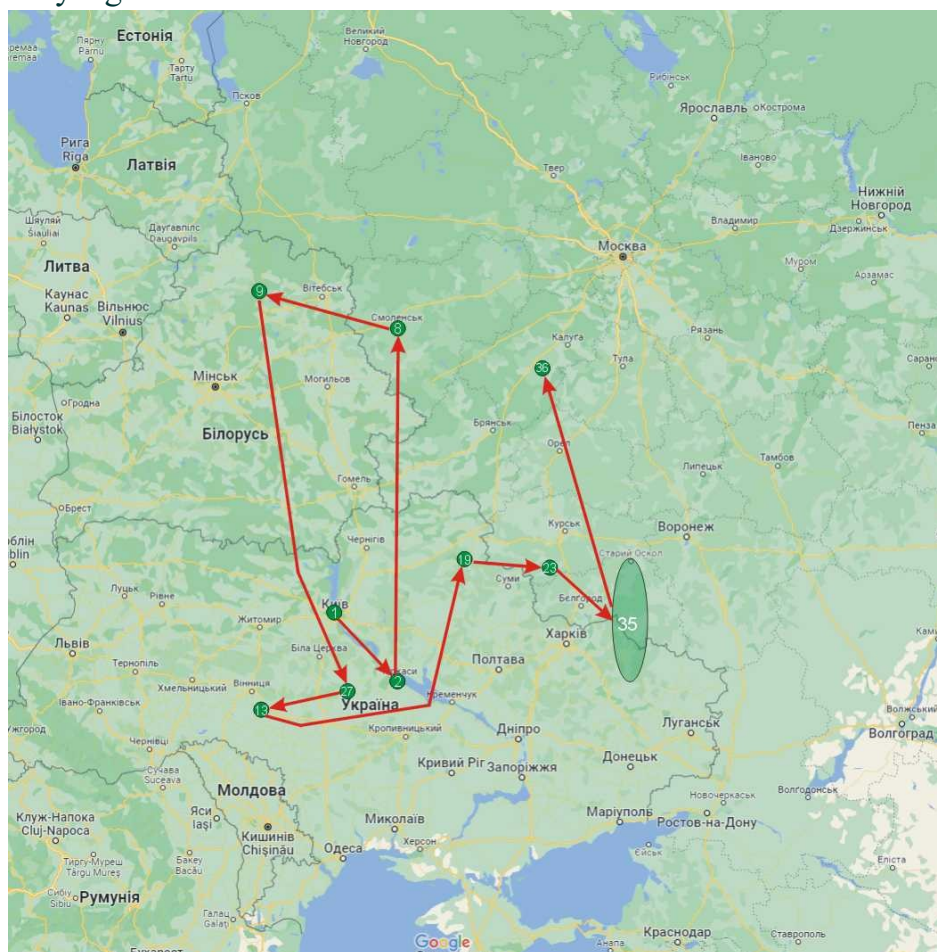Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

They write, that on the night of December 30, Kyiv was attacked by 5 Iranian Shahed missile planes and shot down, but I personally did not hear this.

I think the Pushkinists have a plan to spend ammunition, which must be completed by the end of the year in order to receive a new Order of Engels or a medal "For the defense of Moscow from the Ukrainians."

Well, and Sergey Lavrov pleased, stating that Russia will not conduct peace negotiations based on Zelenskyi's formula. Here he is right. Russia really won't. The negotiations will be conducted by those states that will be formed on the territory of the former Russia, and their agreement to all demands of Ukraine will be an act of their international recognition (December 30, 2022 at 9:00 a.m.).

The list of 1532, as mentioned above, completely repeats the list of 1514 or 1517, therefore it is not included on a separate map.

Instead, the differences in the list of names in the jarlyk of 1539 from all previous jarlyks are very significant:
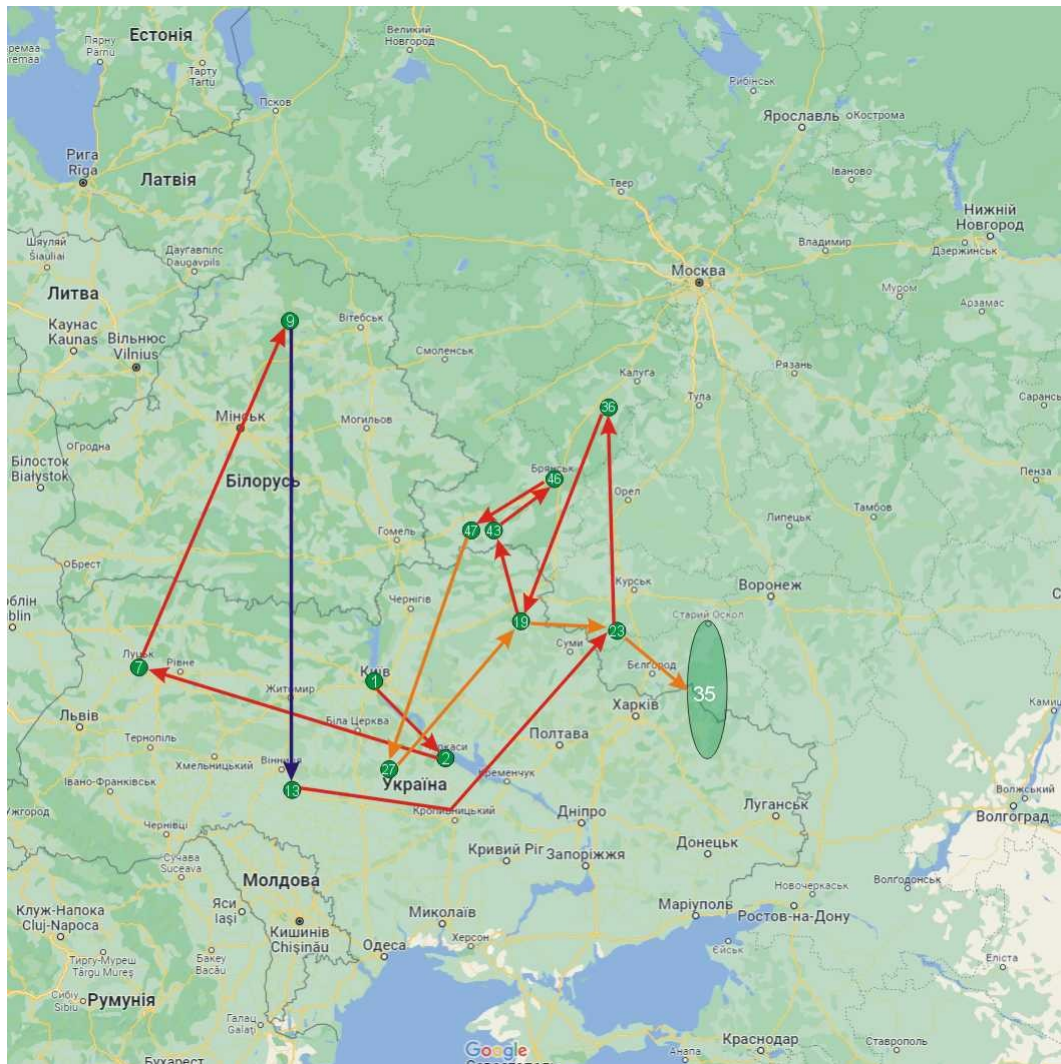

Map scheme of the jarlyk of 1539

List of 1542

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

> "It's winter again and Shaheds again" – for their yesterday downed 10, all of which were launched across Ukraine.
>
> The Muscovites relocated part of their strategic bombers to the Far East, away from sin (and Ukraine). But the air base in this Far East has a characteristic name Ukrainka. And what will it be, Benya?
>
> And here is the statement Oleksiy Danilov that the Armed Forces of Ukraine can, if necessary, enter the territory of Russia – is something new. This has never been heard before. I think Muscovites need to study well the verse about Kokkinaki and Nagasaki (December 31, 2022 at 9:20 am).

List of names in **jarlyk of 1542** very different from the previous ones and very careless:

Map scheme of the jarlyk of 1542

List of 1552

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

> On December 31, 2022, Muscovites congratulated the residents of Kyiv with the New Year. Early, approximately 13:55 – 14.05, I heard dozens of rather loud explosions just sitting in my house. Dozens of more distant explosions were also heard.
>
> Some of the attacking aircraft were shot down by our anti-aircraft defense, but there were also hits, in particular, at the sports field of the Kyiv University on Glushkov Avenue, where I used to do physical education (it was such a compulsory subject!). Windows were also blown out in nearby educational buildings, in particular in the building of the physics faculty, where I studied, and in the dormitories, two of which I lived in during the 3rd to 5th years.
>
> I thought that the Muscovites could hardly wait until the New Year arrived in the Pacific Ocean on the date line to shoot and then go drink their vodka, but no: somewhere at 0:35 already on January 1, 2023, the air alarm sounded loudly again, and they write that new "Shaheds" arrived, and they continued to be shot down. But I didn't hear it.
>
> This is how my "story" is written – in between power outages and against the background of air alarms (January 3, 2023 at 8:00).

The list of names in the jarlyk of 1552 has very significant innovations that were not in any previous label:
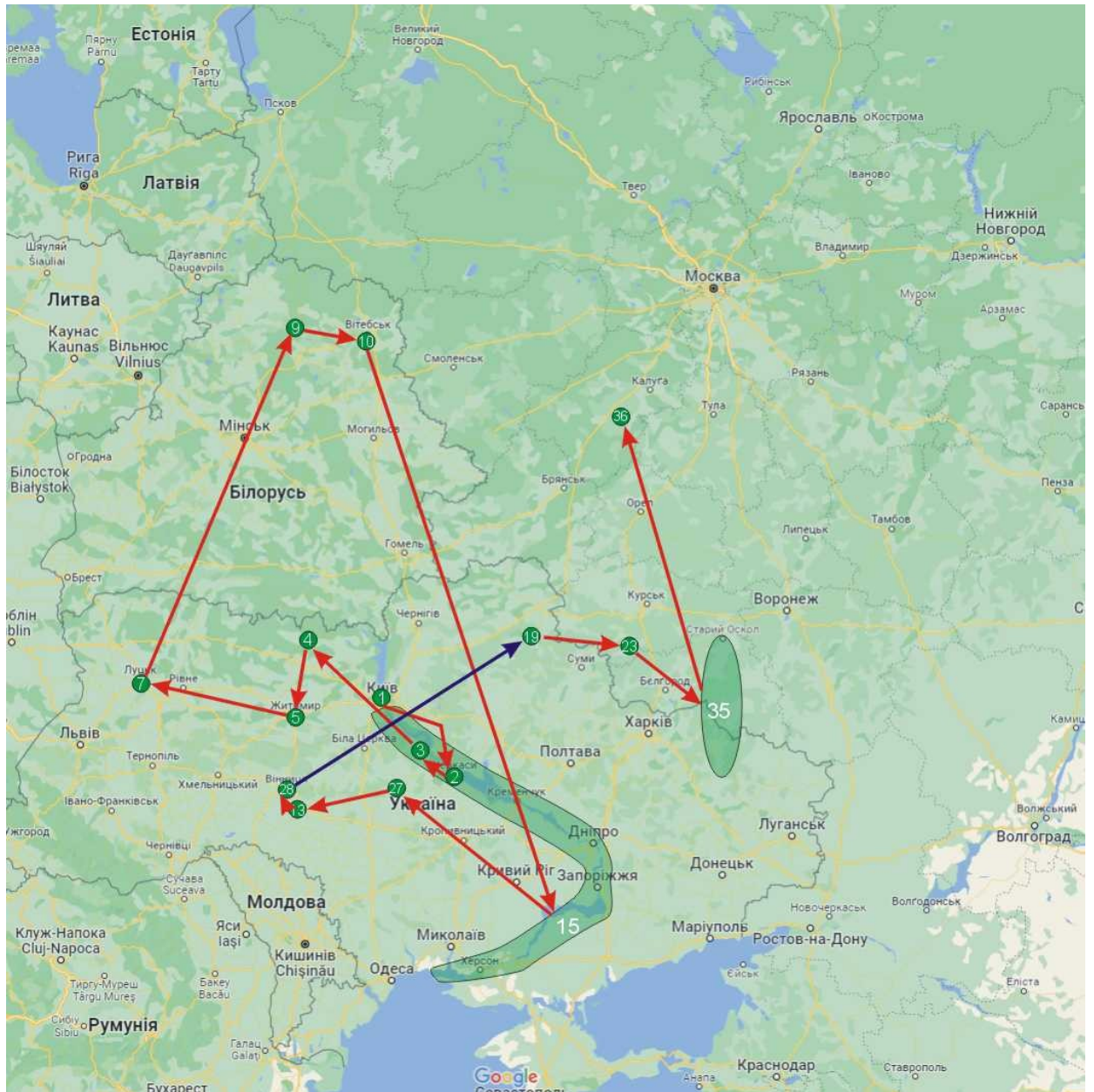
Map scheme of the jarlyk of 1552

Textology

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

> The war of attrition of the Rotten Straw Horde is in full swing. 500 killed Pushkinists per day have long become the norm, and from time to time it is reported about 800 plus. But on January 5, 2023, they also reported on 12 destroyed artillery systems. Is it not a consequence of the use of a new system of counter-battery struggle, which was lightly hinted at in the press?
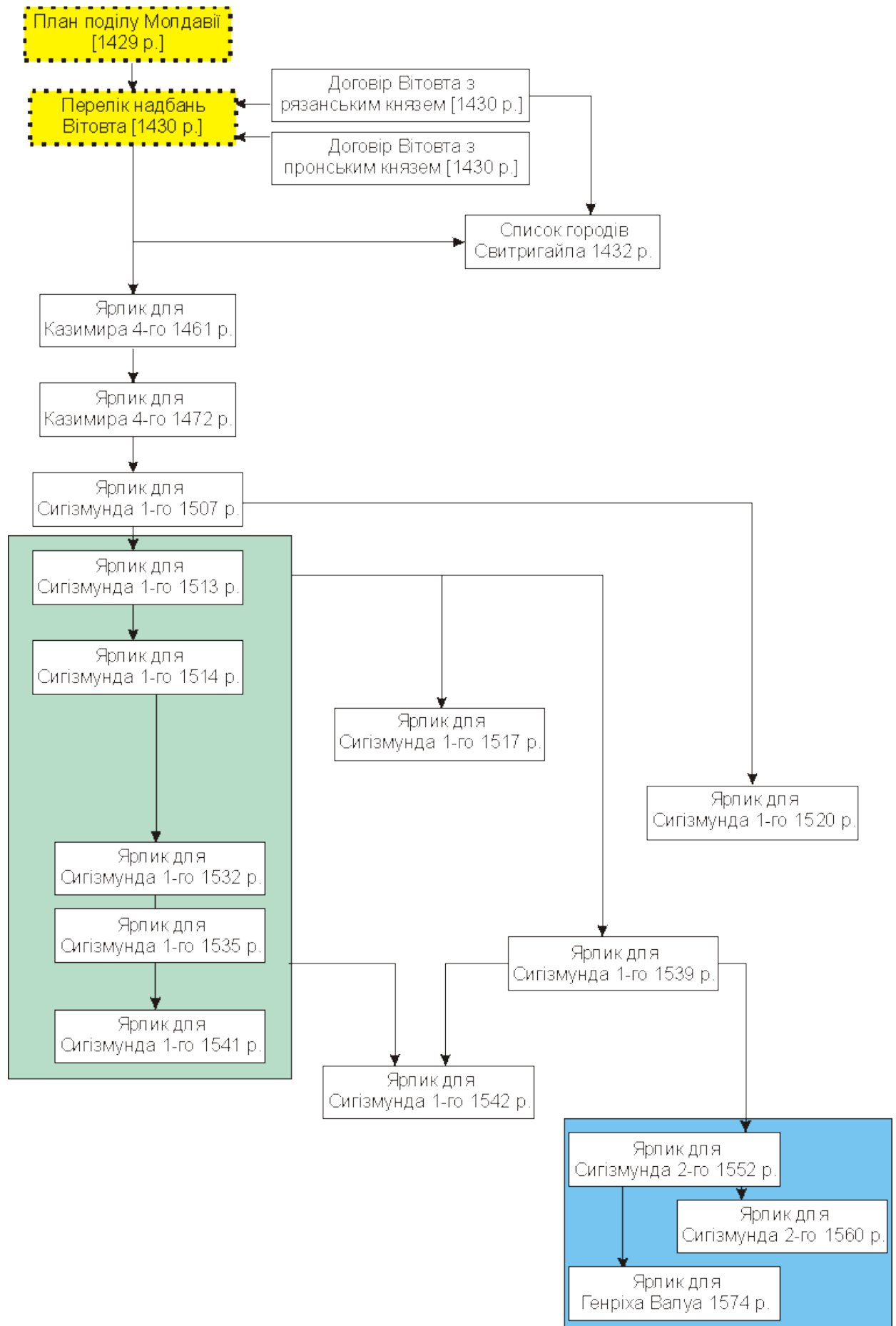>
> It is not enough for us to push the enemy army beyond our borders. For our security, we need a demilitarized zone on Horde territory. And since the flight range of their cruise missiles reaches 5,500 km, this zone must extend to the east at least as far as Yakutsk (5,300 km from Bilovodsk in the Luhansk region, and this is also Ukraine; January 7, 2023 at 8:40 am).

A preliminary survey and mapping of undisputed titles revealed two very contradictory theses:

1, undoubtedly, the lists of names in different jarlyks are somehow related to each other;

2, no jarlyk repeats the list from previous jarlyks, but always gives its own option.

The dependence of texts can be expressed by the following stem. During its construction, the following were taken into account: 1, the chronology of documents; 2, observations on the list of undisputed objects, shown on the maps presented above; 3, results of cluster analysis.

План поділу Молдавії
[1429 р.]

Перелік надбань
Вітовта [1430 р.]

Договір Вітовта з
рязанським князем [1430 р.]

Договір Вітовта з
пронським князем [1430 р.]

Список городів
Свитригайла 1432 р.

Ярлик для
Казимира 4-го 1461 р.

Ярлик для
Казимира 4-го 1472 р.

Ярлик для
Сигізмунда 1-го 1507 р.

Ярлик для
Сигізмунда 1-го 1513 р.

Ярлик для
Сигізмунда 1-го 1514 р.

Ярлик для
Сигізмунда 1-го 1517 р.

Ярлик для
Сигізмунда 1-го 1520 р.

Ярлик для
Сигізмунда 1-го 1532 р.

Ярлик для
Сигізмунда 1-го 1535 р.

Ярлик для
Сигізмунда 1-го 1539 р.

Ярлик для
Сигізмунда 1-го 1541 р.

Ярлик для
Сигізмунда 1-го 1542 р.

Ярлик для
Сигізмунда 2-го 1552 р.

Ярлик для
Сигізмунда 2-го 1560 р.

Ярлик для
Генріха Валуа 1574 р.

The stem of the jarlyk texts

Grant formulas

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

They write, that the Russian authorities remembered the old joke and decided to improve the situation not by changing the beds, but by changing the girls. As a result, instead of General Surovikin, who became famous for his defeat in Kherson, General Gerasimov, who became famous for his defeat in Izyum (he was also wounded there, they say, right in the ass), was appointed to command.

And there is also something wrong with the beds in the Horde, because today's morning summary does not show a single destroyed tank or armored vehicle, only 430 Pushkinists killed. The Horde can be understood: tanks are a material asset, it is a pity to lose them (well, they may still be needed). And the Horde's cannon fodder is of no value, it is not a pity and it will definitely not be needed again (January 12, 2023 at 10:30).

Of particular interest are the grant formulas in jarlyks. In the lists we see two options: 1, a separate geographical name; 2, geographic name + grant formula.

In total, I counted 66 different formulas (they are presented before comparative table).

Subjects of grants

Chronology of grant formulas

Tma and *povit* terms

Little-known geographical names

Rotten-Straw Horde is not lazy to remind about its existence (so far), and here on January 14, 2023, somewhere at 9:30 – 9:32, while I was writing the previous chapter, I heard up to eight explosions from the work of our air defense.

And during this concert in Sicheslav (Dnipro) was a rocket hit a residential building, 44 killed, among them 5 children… Well, I already wrote about the probability of my death from anti-Dühring missile fire (in reviews of O. Litskevich's book).

Pushkinists are still afraid that their existing deeds are not enough to recognize them as war criminals.

And ours have already hinted at a possible answer. The commander of the aviation regiment was walking down the street, slipped and fell from the window of the 23rd floor of a two-story building. Doesn't that happen? (January 17, 2023 at 8:50 am).

Method of work

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

I have divided all geographical names listed in the jarlyks into two broad groups: undisputed names, discussed above, and little-known / unknown titles, which it's time to get busy.

Well-known names are located between the Black Sea coast in the south and Veliky Novgorod in the north (1,300 km), between Volodymyr in the west and Ryazan in the east (1,100 km). These points form a rectangle with an area of 680,000 square km on the map of Eastern Europe. km, stretched from the southwest to the northeast. If we add Podillja in the west and Oskol in the east to this rectangle, then such a hexagon has an area of about 800,000 square km.

A priori, one can think only about the placement of little-known objects inside the outlined polygon.

Toponym search

Common groundless assumptions

Putivl / Budula

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

An educational example

So, let's try to find the already familiar Putivl (No. 19 in the comparison table) by his skeleton:

[word="П[аоуеиієяюї]т[аоуеиієяюї]в[аоуеиієяюї]л.*"]

or simplified

[word="П{AV}т{AV}в{AV}л.*"]

Conclusion: there are no other names similar to Putivl in Eastern Europe, and they are very rare in the world as a whole. Obviously, the combination of CQL + GRAK

gives an exciting computer game that can be played by children between the ages of eight and eighty-eight.

Sokilets / Sokal

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

> Our commentators write: "Europe should thank us for protection from morning to night, from night to morning."
> And Europe is giving thanks as best it can: in Poland, Slovakia and Romania, the border with Ukraine is being blocked, in France, and then in Bulgaria, there are voices in favor of restricting the export of agricultural products from Ukraine, and yesterday (January 28, 2024, **on Sunday**), as if on command from Moscow, in Hungary and in Romania representatives of some political parties put forward territorial claims to Ukraine.
> Although why "as if"? Not "as if on command", but simply on command from Moscow, regardless of the day off! (Monday, January 29, 2024 at 7:45 am).

This name (No. 26) forms a stable pair with Zvenygorod (No. 27), which can be traced from 1472 to 1574. Also, from 1507 to 1532, a stable trio of names Bratslav – Sokal – Zvenygorod can be traced.

Conclusion: if it was mentioned somewhere in the early jarlyks of Sokilets on the Bog, such a text has not reached us. The scribes of those texts that have actually reached us were thinking about Sokal in Galicia and / or about Skala-Podilska with its district ("tma").

Sneporod / Steprud

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

History (in the literal sense of the word) happened with this name (No. 16 in the comparative table).

So, while there was an ancient Rus' town, there are no written references to it, and when this town irretrievably disappeared, the virtual Sneporod appears in written sources.

Glynsk

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

The Rotten Straw Horde continues its endless attacks on Bakhmut, although even its greatest commander Yevgeny Prigozhin recognized them as hopeless.

This newest Subudai did not graduate from the military academies, but he has a lot of experience in prison. According to Horde concepts, this is a sufficient qualification for any position.

And I continue my work (February 15, 2023 at 9:30).

Mysterious early references

I added my thoughts to this place on February 15, 2023 and thought: what about a transparent name *Glynsk*? Does it really refer to some estate of the Glynski princes, as is written in some places?

An excursion into the history of the Glynski princes stretched for 8 months, until October 16, 2023, and after its completion I can return to the interpretation of the name Glynsk with new weapons.

During this time, the Rotten Straw Horde has already fallen out of love with Bakhmut and continues endless attacks on Avdijivka.

The glory of Marshal Zhukov, who destroyed one and a half million of his soldiers in the attacks on the Rzhev bridgehead and did not conquer a single square centimeter there, does not give rest to the current Horde leadership. This is our General Staff today informs about the destruction of 990 Muscovites in the past day, but the Horde does not care.

And I continue my work (December 8, 2023 at 8:15).

Glynsk and princes Glynski

"Glynsk" in jarlyks

Evgeny Osadchy's view (2022)

Putivl group

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Tonight, the muscovite people again emerged from their rotten swamp and fired 8 rockets at Kyiv (according to preliminary data –

ballistic). I heard the work of our air defense somewhere around 4:12, somewhere between 12 and 15 explosions, but it was far away from me.

And reported, that in Bortnychy four people were injured by falling debris.

While the war for me personally is limited to the sounds of distant explosions – I can continue (December 11, 2023 at 7:50).

Two blocks of names should be attributed to the objects of the Putivl group in the jarlyks: the first is formed by Putivl itself (19), Zholvazh (18), Byryn (20), Synets (21), Khotyn (33), Losychy (22a), Khotmyshl (23a), Nichany (37); second – Uteshkiv (69), Horodysche (69-1), Tushin (70), Nemyr (71). Among these groups, Muzhech (45) is mentioned separately and in isolation.

But how do one see that these names form a group? For this, it is necessary to attract data from other sources, which would give us an idea about the placement of little-known objects.

Award of 1487

Grant of 1500

Khotmyshl

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Apart from Putivl itself, from the names of the Putivl group mentioned above, Khotmyshl is easily and indisputably localized: this is the village of Khotmyzk (Khotmyzhsk) in the Borysiv district of the Kursk region of the Russian Federation. It really lies on the right bank of the Vorskla River (SRG) 160 km southeast of Putivl. This name is also mentioned in the SGS – without specifying the location.

A review of the literature showed that all researchers agree with the identification of Khotmyzk. Thus, I rightly included it among the reliably localized points. Regarding the following names, we have doubts, disputes and disagreements of everyone with everyone.

Byryn

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Tonight, Pushkinists with anti-Dührings has already fired 10 missiles at Kyiv, again ballistic. I heard the work of our anti-aircraft defense around 3:00, about 8 explosions, and relatively closer than December 11th. Maybe I didn't wake up with the first explosion.

And the wounded at this moment in Kyiv – 51 persons, including children (no casualties yet). In the Desnyansky district, a fragment of a rocket-propelled grenade hit a 9-story building, probably similar to the one in which I live.

For ballistic missiles with their enormous speed, it seems that there is no difference whether to shoot during the day or at night. Why do Lermontoid launch them at night?

> I thought to myself – while in Kyiv it is 3:00 on December 13, in Washington, where President Zelensky is now, it is still 20:00 on December 12, prime time. Maybe it's such a rude politeness to remind about their existence? (December 13, 2023 at 7:40 am).

Attempts to localize Byryn are a clear example of the disagreement of everyone with everyone.

It should be known that Byryn studies are currently experiencing a flourishing period, and therefore I consider it expedient to abandon my usual method of reading historiography after completing my own research. Let's first see what smart people have written.

Olena Rusyna (1996)

Victor Gagin (2013)

Yevhen Osadchy (2020, 2023)

Dmytro Chursin (2021, 2023)

Study results

Additional mentions of Byryn

What is Byryn?

The chart looks like this:
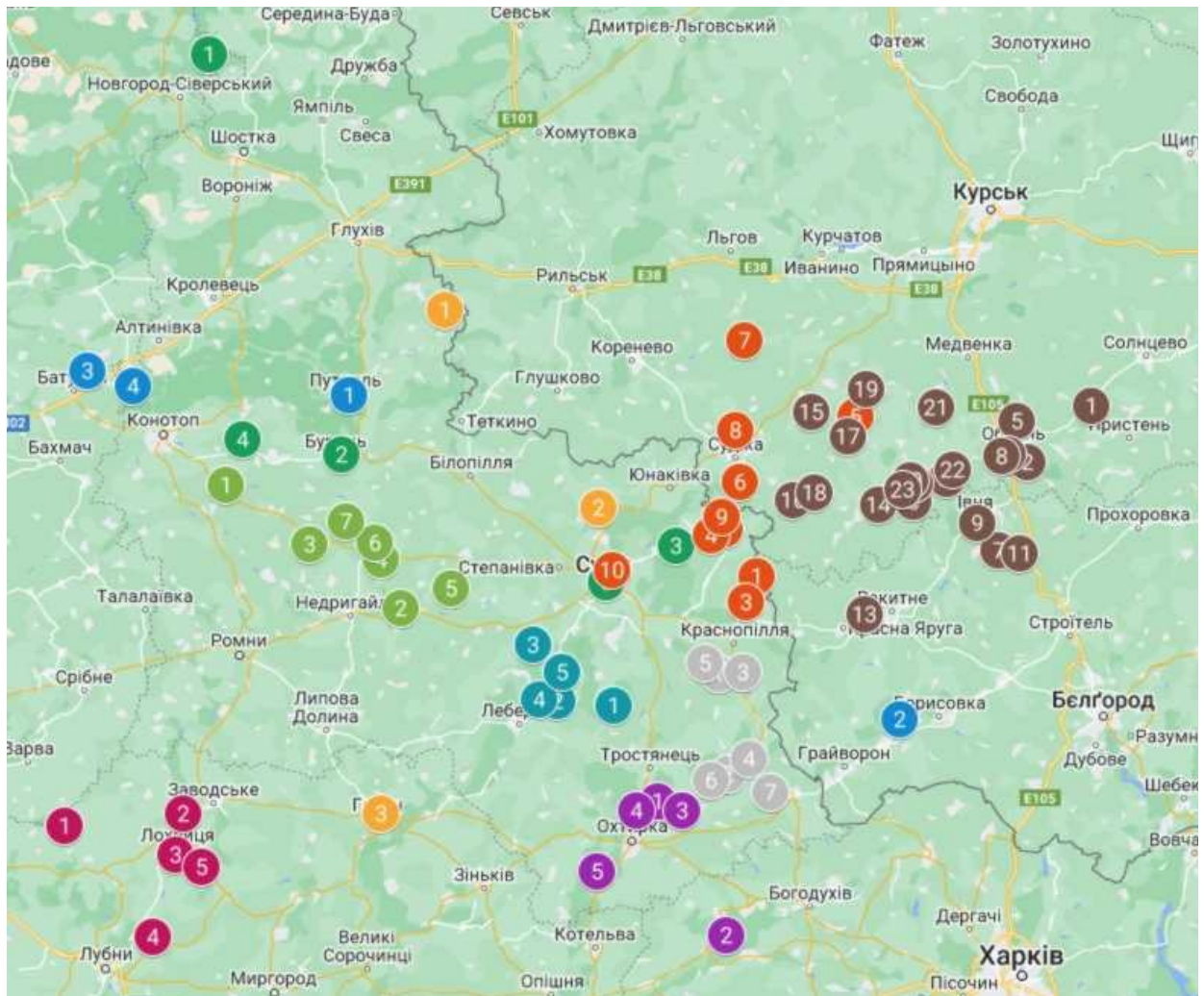
(Perhaps, it is more convenient to view this map in a separate window: google.com. One can see here indisputable objects and 9 layers for little known objects, from Byryn to Gorodysche. Turn off unnecessary layers to emphasize what you want.)

Byryne is located 12 km northeast of Novgorod-Siversky (but on the opposite, left bank of the Desna) and 90 km north of Putivl. Far? Well, it is 80 km from Putivl to Sumy, and it does not seem far to researchers. V. Gagin is probably right, assuming that the Byryn Volost of the 15th century – not the same as in the 17th century.

Byryn in jarlyks

Therefore, it is advisable to study the geographical names of shortcuts in two ways: 1, it is interesting to find out what real geographical objects they denote; 2, what Lithuanian figures were thinking when translating and reading these names (a kind of mental geography, different from the geography of the real world).

Khotin

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

In the USA, the titanic battle of pygmies continues over whether or not to provide aid to Ukraine for 2024. Everyone has already studied in general terms the stages of the budget procedure in the USA.

On the one hand, I well remember that these budget disputes in some places led to the suspension of funding of the US state apparatus (there they even invented a special word for this – shutdown), but previously they did not concern Ukraine and were not paid for with the blood and lives of our soldiers.

On the other hand, I know about the huge political inertia accumulated by the same USA, and I think that the Republicans, who slow down the provision of aid, simply want to make political capital for themselves on this issue.

It is important for me not to go crazy with such news (December 19, 2023 at 8:00 am).

Name *Khotin* relatively transparent and relatively common. The map of the placement of these toponyms looks like this:
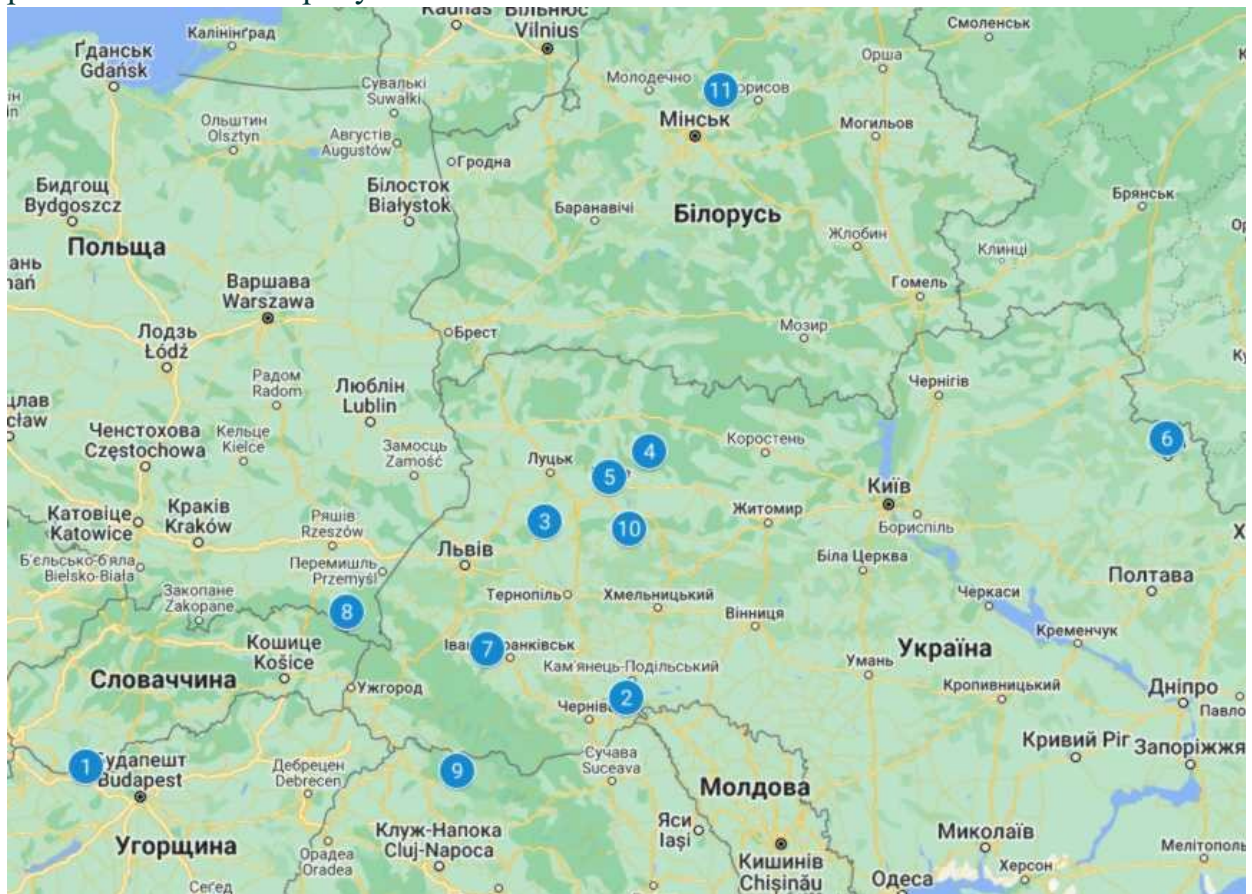
(Perhaps, it is more convenient to view this map in a separate window: google.com.)

Yevhen Osadchy (2022, 2023)

Therefore, today there is no convincing hypothesis that would reconcile all the available data.

The name Khodyne is unique, no other such name can be seen anywhere else. Therefore, I think, this village cannot be rejected as a candidate for the role of ancient Khotyn.

Zholvazh

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

> On the third hand, against the background of the promises of some figures of the Republican Party (to withdraw from NATO in the event of their coming to power), the US Congress recently adopted a strange resolution that forbade the US president to withdraw from NATO.
>
> The future will show whether this resolution will hinder the president or not, and for now a clear signal has been sent to everyone in the world: it may happen that the USA will leave NATO, so that you do not say later that you were not warned.
>
> So, it may happen that NATO will disintegrate even before Ukraine joins this bloc. Am I not an optimist? (December 20, 2023 at 8:32 am).

Modern Zholvazh science is a simplified and abbreviated analogue of Byryn science.

The chart looks like this:

(Perhaps, it is more convenient to view this map in a separate window: google.com. Turn off unnecessary layers to emphasize what you want.)

I slept during the attack of the rotten-straw "Shaheds" on Kyiv on the night of December 21-22, I did not hear the sounds of anti-aircraft defense. How little a person needs for happiness! (December 22, 2023 at 8:00 a.m.).

We see that the situation is as follows: documentary sources know only Zholvazh volost (parish) and do not know any Zholvazh settlement; and the lists of names are known only to Zholvazh settlement and do not know any Zholvazh volost.

> Well, no sooner had I finished the previous lines and went to have lunch, so that after lunch I could switch to another job, when the Muscovites took to the air their MiG-31K carrier. So I finished the tea with air alarm, whose sirens sounded especially expressive today.
>
> But I will still switch to another job, and I will return to Zholvazh tomorrow. If I live (December 22, 2023 at 1:45 p.m.).

In general, a word *Zholvazh* is completely opaque, incomprehensible, and it is natural that in the 17th century it has undergone adaptation.

Synets

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

On the fourth hand, despite the political inertia and reserves of strength, which (it is believed) the USA has, everything happens for the first time, and this first one cannot be predicted to any extent, knowing the past.

Well, who would have thought that sailor Zaliznyak would come to Washington and tell the American congressmen his "The guard is tired?" And yet he came and said (January 6, 2021), and the guard, which, as it turned out, numbered 2500 men, felt that they was really tired… and buried himself so that no one knew about them.

So, do what you can and let what will be (Tugendbund slogan! December 24, 2023 at 8:17 am).

So, the only candidate for the title role *Synets* remains Sencha, proposed by the first researchers. I cannot judge whether such a transition is possible from the point of view of phonetics.

Losychy

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

On the fifth hand, I willingly believe that American politicians may not know anything about some sailor Zaliznyak there. What do they care about the details of some small revolution in some small unknown country. They have the right not to know.

But whose Bible do they know? One must have read about "mene – tekel – uparsin"?

Well, King Belshazzar also read these words, and what helped him? (December 25, 2023 at 7:40 am).

(Perhaps, it is more convenient to view this map in a separate window: google.com. Turn off unnecessary layers to emphasize what you want.)

The conclusion from the considered references is as follows: the Losytska road led from Putivl to the watershed of Mzha and Kolomak; it got its name from the Losychy tract, which was located on the Vorskla between the mouth of the Boromlya River and the modern village of Sosonka; in this tract in mid-17th century the Losytsky fort existed for a short time.

In the jarlyks we have two names: Losychy and Luchychyn, which are not phonetic variants, they are two different names. They have different bases and different formants.

Nychany

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

And from the sixth side, it can be assumed that American politicians know the book of the prophet Daniel and realize that the bell on January 6, 2021 rang just at their address.

But awareness of the threat to the US democratic political system is only the beginning. Next, one need to invent ways to treat this disease, and then need to have the courage and leverage to start this treatment.

And here the political tradition already plays against the "doctors"-reformers. For a quarter of a millennium, the system has stood without the slightest amendment, how can you reform it? (December 29, 2023 at 7:48 am).

In the Putivl tax book of 1628-1629, the Nychany parish is mentioned.

While I was rewriting the above quote, two distant explosions rang out outside the window. And write, that Pushkinists are shelling all major cities of Ukraine (December 29, 2023 at 8:00 a.m.).

The chart looks like this:

(Perhaps, it is more convenient to view this map in a separate window: google.com. Turn off unnecessary layers to emphasize what you want.)

While adding to this place, reported about the consequences of the attack on Kyiv, in particular, the building of the "Lukyanivska" metro station was damaged (December 29, 2023 at 9:00 a.m.).

Thus, we have a rare case when researchers agree on the placement of this item.

The death toll from the large airstrike of the Muscovites on the night and then the day of December 29, 2023 continued to rise throughout December 29 and 30, it happened up to 39 killed and 159 wounded, in one Kyiv – 19 killed. And you, Moshka, play! (December 31, 2023 at 7:50 am).

That's why I think so *Nychany* may not be divided into base and formant, but be one word of unknown origin and meaning. In this case, the transition *Nychany → Nycakha*, that is, from relatively understandable into the completely incomprehensible, I consider as impossible. Common between these names is only the initial *Ny*. Will further searches clarify anything?

While finishing this section, reported, that 21 people have already died in Kyiv. And another man who was wounded on December 29, died in hospital in Dnipro. This is how we write history – alive (December 31, 2023 at 11:20).

Muzhech

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

> Well, I just woke up when explosions rang out from the work of our anti-aircraft defense (somewhere at 7:15). I started to count them, but quickly got lost, the explosions are going on without a break, I have already heard about forty of them. And I hear only part of what is happening over Kyiv. If yesterday, January 1, 2024, an air raid warning sounded several times during the day, today the Muscovites menu for us contain a real attack (January 2, 2024 at 7:58).

Later, in the Putivl tax book of 1628-1629, the Muzhech Volost (parish) is mentioned.

> The news is updated! The blasts keep going, Air Forces are reported about the attack by Dagger missiles, they also write about disappearance of light and water and gas pipe damage in Kyiv. Well, until my light has not disappeared – I will continue (January 2, 2024 at 8:37).

The river Ivnia originates in the village Ivnia Belgorod region, flows to the northwest and after 13 km flows into the Psel near the village Cherenovo Ivnia district.

> The news is updated! The explosions have stopped for now, but are reported about the fire of a multi-storey building in the Solomyansky district of Kyiv and 10 victims; also the light is gone in the Bucha and Vyshgorod districts of the Kyiv region and in some places on the right bank of Kyiv (January 2, 2024 at 9:00 a.m.).

The Belitsa River originates near the village Maly Kamenets Bolshesoldat district, flows to the southwest and after 16 km flows into the Psel in the village Belitsa Belovsky district.

> The news is updated! They write, 16 victims have already been injured in the Solomyansky district, and in Kharkiv – 1 dead and more than 20 injured (January 2, 2024 at 9:45).

The Rybinka River originates in the village Ljubostan of the Bolshesoldat district, flows south and after 24 km flows into the Psel a little to the east of the village Gochevo.

> The last addition for today! In Bortnychy damaged houses and a church (of the Moscow Patriarchate, of course); in Kharkiv – already 44 victims (January 2, 2024 at 10:00 a.m.).

> I start a new day with the results of yesterday's (January 2, 2024) rotten-straw shelling: in general across Ukraine 5 dead, 130 injured; in Kyiv due to shelling died professor of the Kyiv-Mohyla

Academy L. V. Shevtsova (January 3, 2024 at 8:00 a.m.) .

The map looks like this:

(Perhaps, it is more convenient to view this map in a separate window: google.com. Turn off unnecessary layers to emphasize what you want.)

The number of victims of the shelling on December 29, 2023 by Pushkinists and anti-Dühring (those from the city of Engels) continues to increase: in Kyiv – 30, in Ukraine as a whole – 53 (January 4, 2024 at 7:50 am) .

The second conclusion is purely negative: the origin of the name *Muzhech* it is not clear, it is even possible that it is not Slavic.

It is also not entirely clear which geographic object was so named. It is nowhere to be seen that this was the name of a settlement.

Uteshkov

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

The number of victims of the Rotten Horde rocket attack on Kyiv on December 29, 2023 continues to grow – now they write already about 32 people (January 5, 2024 at 8:02).

(Perhaps, it is more convenient to view this map in a separate window: google.com. Turn off unnecessary layers to emphasize what you want.)

There seems to be no doubt that the personal name *Utesh / Uteshko* and patronymics and toponyms derived from them *Uteshkov* were widespread among the Kazan and Siberian Tatars, also among the Bashkirs, and to a lesser extent among the Udmurts and Mordvins. Instead, we do not see this name in the Slavic lands and among the Crimean Tatars.

Therefore, I think that "our" Uteshkov Volost (parish) is named after some Tatar Uteshko, and no settlement (much less a town or city) of Uteshkov existed – this name was extracted as a root from the name of the volost.

Horodysche

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

They write, that our soldiers destroyed the underground command post of the Muscovites in Sevastopol and even killed (once again) Chief of the General Staff of Muscovy Gerasimov. True, this Gerasimov has not yet caught up with Motorola in terms of the number of times he has been killed, but it is still nice to read this (January 7, 2024 at 9:15).
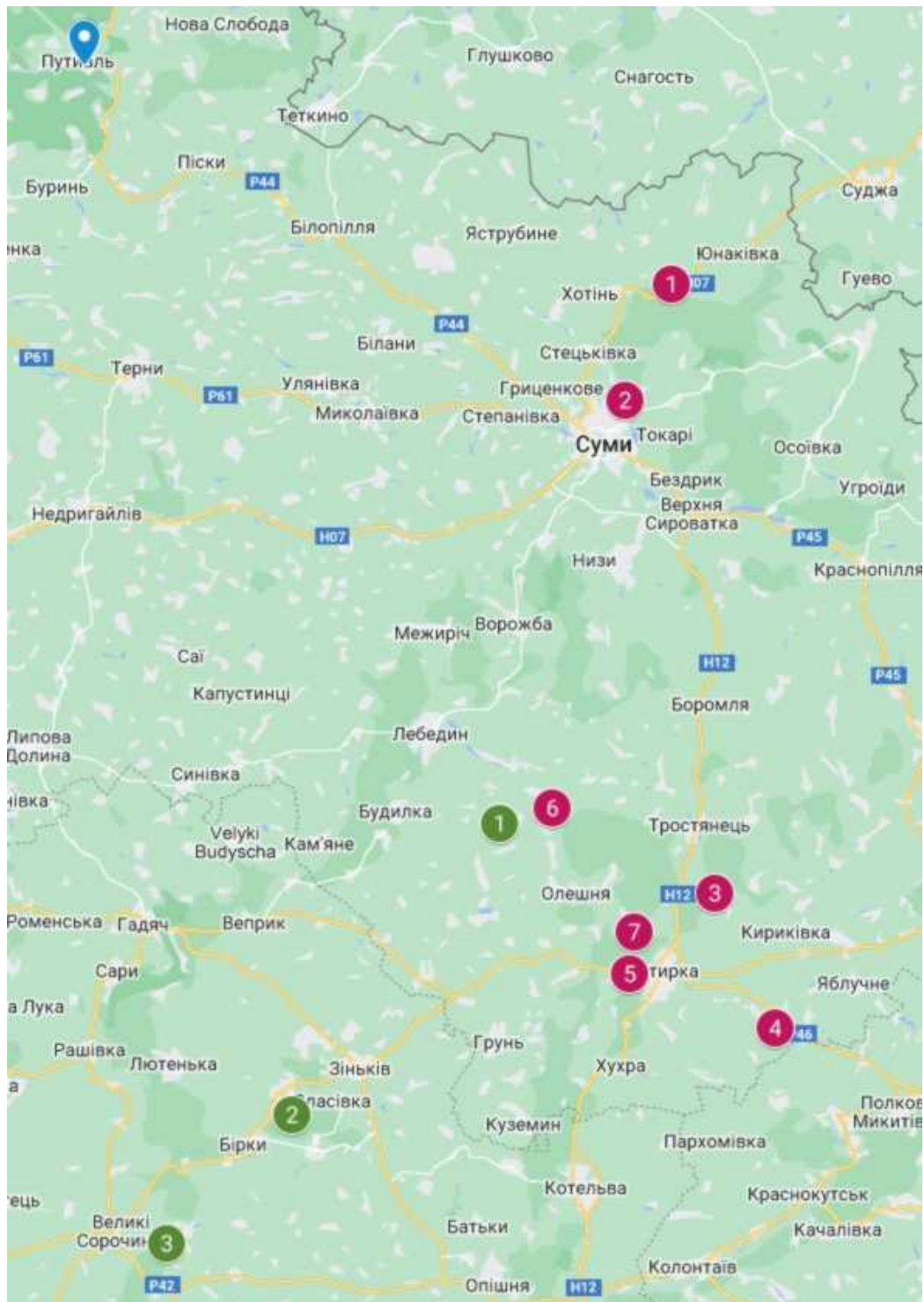
(Perhaps, it is more convenient to view this map in a separate window: google.com. Turn off unnecessary layers to emphasize what you want.)

Word *Horodysche* (hillfort) was well known to translators, and therefore we do not have significant variants of its spelling in the jarlyks. Another matter is which of the several hundred hillforts they imagined when writing down this name.

Tushin

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

I am reading about the terrible consequences of the celebratory (Christmas) attack of the Muscovites on Pokrovsk in the Donetsk region (on the night of January 6-7, 2024). So far, 5 people have been identified, but many human bodies **ragged**, preliminarily thinking about 11 dead. (January 9, 2024 at 7:55 am).

(Perhaps, it is more convenient to view this map in a separate window: google.com. The places relative to Tushin and Nemir parishes are shown.)

The name *Tashan* was unknown to the translators of the Crimean jarlyks, and therefore we do not have this name in any version of the translation. Meanwhile, all the spellings known from jarlyks cannot be interpreted.

Nemyr

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

They inform, that during the clearing of rubble in the Shevchenkivsky district of Kyiv (probably at the Artem plant), one

more person was found dead from a Lermontoid missile attack on December 29, 2023. The total number of people killed in that attack in Kyiv reached 33 (January 10, 2024 at 8:10).
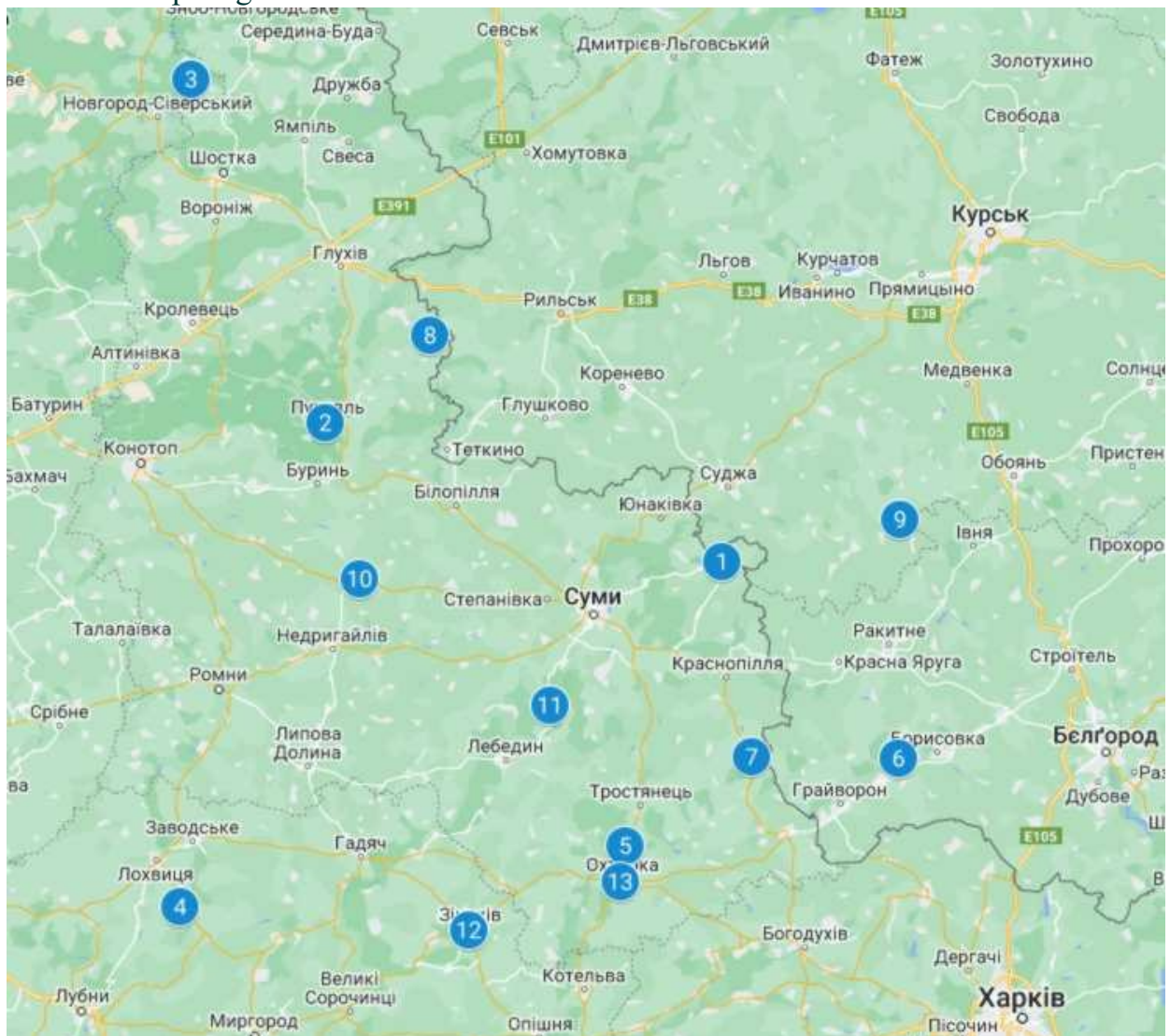
(Perhaps, it is more convenient to view this map in a separate window: google.com.)

The currently available data are really not enough to clearly distinguish the Nemyr Volost (parish) from the Losychy Volost.

Conclusions

They inform, rotten-straw lapti (shoes) hit the center of Kharkiv with two rockets at night, damaged a hotel and injured 11 people. It seems they had some specific purpose here at that hotel (Jan 11, 2024 at 8:35 am).

The results of the conducted searches can be presented in the form of the following table and map diagram:

(Perhaps, it is more convenient to view this map in a separate window: google.com. Determining the approximate centers of volosts, I focused

exclusively on the geometric centers of the territories delineated in the Putivl tax book of 1628-1629.)

It can be seen from the table that the "Putyvl group" in jarlyks formed in three stages.
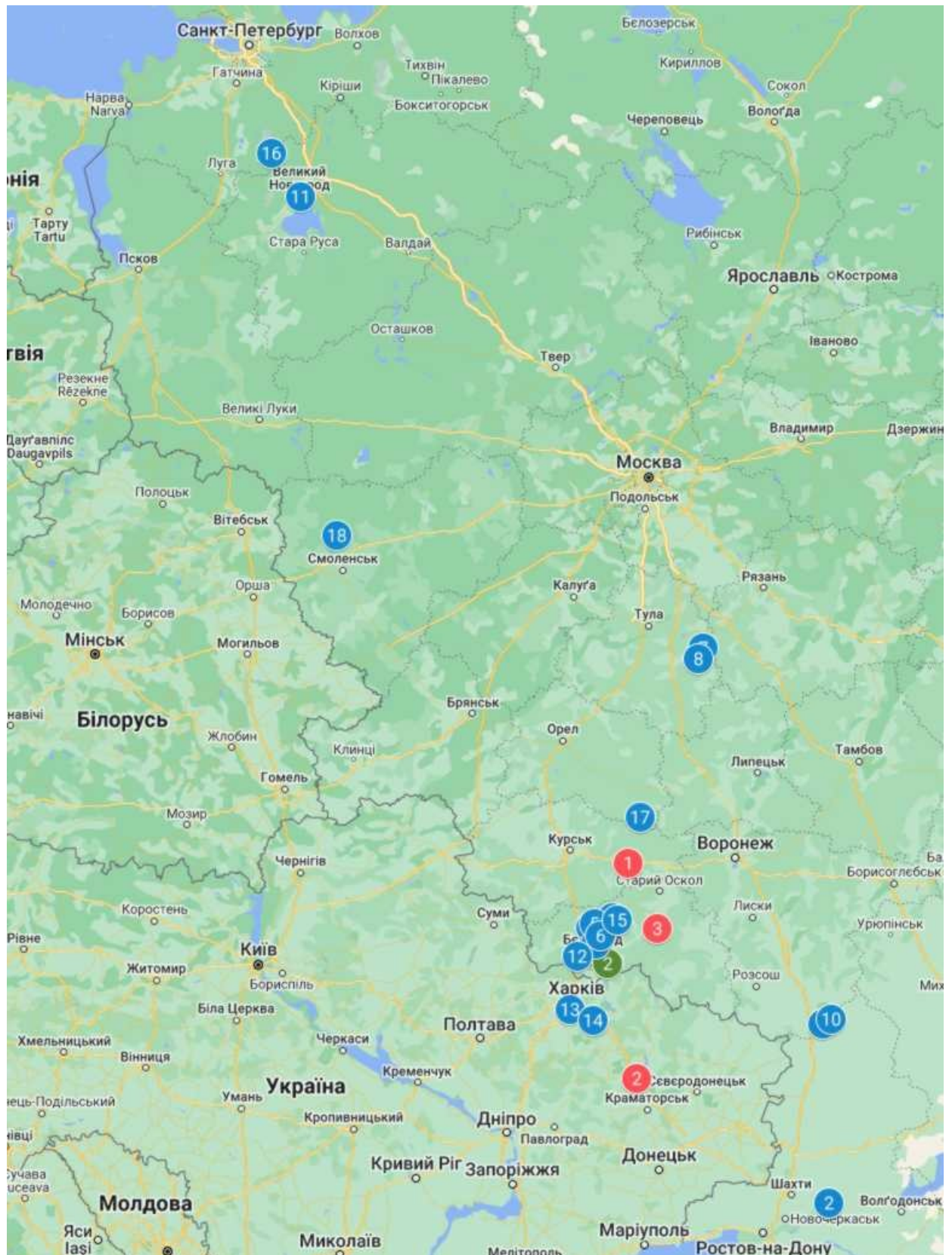
Oskol

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

> In the USA, the political elite woke up from ~~winter hibernation~~ winter vacation, and Republicans announced their plan regarding Ukraine. It turns out that they criticize the current democratic administration not for the fact that it helped Ukraine, but for the fact that it helped weakly and not enough, but we, the Republicans…
>
> Oh, it would be better if they criticized less and voted more effectively!
>
> The fact that this new plan clearly names the entire "gang of four" (China, Russia, Iran and North Korea) as a threat to the world order can be considered a positive point (January 12, 2024 at 8:40).
>
> (Perhaps, it is more convenient to view this map in a separate window: google.com.)

(Perhaps, it is more convenient to view this map in a separate window: google.com. The features relative to names Oskol, Milolubl and Donets are shown.)

It may be that the ancient Rus' city on the Oskol River was also called Oskol, but only – **may be** (so **maybe not**). The Oskol River is quite significant, and its name was well known, but when did permanent settlements appear on it?

> I have no personal impressions about the big missile attack on Muscovites on the night of January 12-13: I did not hear anything, only in the morning of January 13 read in the news, that anti-aircraft defense was working around Kyiv. Also for the first time was said, that our air defense managed to deflect more than 20 cruise missiles from the targets **means of electronic warfare**.
>
> There are no comments about these tools yet, probably it's not time to brag about them yet (January 14, 2024 at 8:50 am).

Conclusion: name Oskol in the jarlyks refers to the river, not the settlement or parish.

Mylolyub[l]

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Conclusion: there are no source data to find out what Mylolyub[l] was and its localization – except that it can be thought that this name referred to the territory to the southeast of GDL.

Donets

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

> On the night of January 14-15, 2024, two rotten straw planes were attacked in the Sea of Azov region, and all day on January 15, news on this topic poured in. Currently, it is clear that Ukrainian soldiers shot down an A-50 flying radar and damaged an Il-22M repeater aircraft in the Berdyansk region.
>
> And now all who think themselves intelligent are pondering – what and how it was done (January 16, 2024 at 8:05 am).

But the very name Donets appeared quite common both in hydronymy and in oikonymy:

(Perhaps, it is more convenient to view this map in a separate window: google.com.)

Therefore, I think that the compilers of the ascending document had Donets-Tulsky in mind and thought that they had expressed themselves clearly, and then when compiling the list, writing and reading the jarlyks, an illusory clarity came and this little-known Donets was overshadowed by the much better-known Seversky Donets.

Berestej and Ratun

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

> While the American Congress considers whether or not the United States should be a superpower, whether or not to provide aid to Ukraine, ordinary Americans are quietly but effectively helping Russia. They write, that the company "Pepsi-Cola" (properly, Pepsico), which continues to process the rotten straw of the Rotten-Straw Horde into its signature drink, paid 115 million dollars in taxes to the Horde's budget in 2023 and provides work for 60 thousand Muscovites, who tirelessly grow, collect and process this rotten straw.
>
> And this is only one company to which the Muscovites have already send their greetings, hitting a certain Pepsi-Cola plant in Ukraine. One would not like to think that in fact the Americans are interested in the fact that more people died in the war, but how can you think otherwise? (January 17, 2024 at 9:06 am).

The conclusion from these detailed studies is simple and unfortunate: the named objects cannot be located. There are no (or have not yet been found) traces of them in the local toponymy, which indicates the great desolation of the territory and its subsequent re-inhabitation by new people.

Yabu-town

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

> Today we have a big and very positive one news from the USA: Congress passed a last-minute midterm budget for government agencies, and now their shutdown has been delayed until March 1, 2024.
>
> It turns out that American politicians are not kidding when they say that they have to take care of the security of the United States first of all. But it seems to me that the greatest danger for the United States comes from those politicians themselves. Well, I remember Jules Verne's novel "The Floating Island", I read it once in my youth (January 18, 2024 at 8:05 am).

Toponyms

Turkish map

> Yesterday the statement was made, that future peace with Russia must include Russia's nuclear disarmament. The statement

was made so far at a not very high level (Deputy Minister of Defense of Ukraine Ivan Gavrylyuk), but this seems to be the first government statement on this topic. Before that, there were only conversations between observers and commentators.

Should we consider this a consequence of the meeting in Davos, where our peace formula was discussed? (January 21, 2024 at 7:50 am).
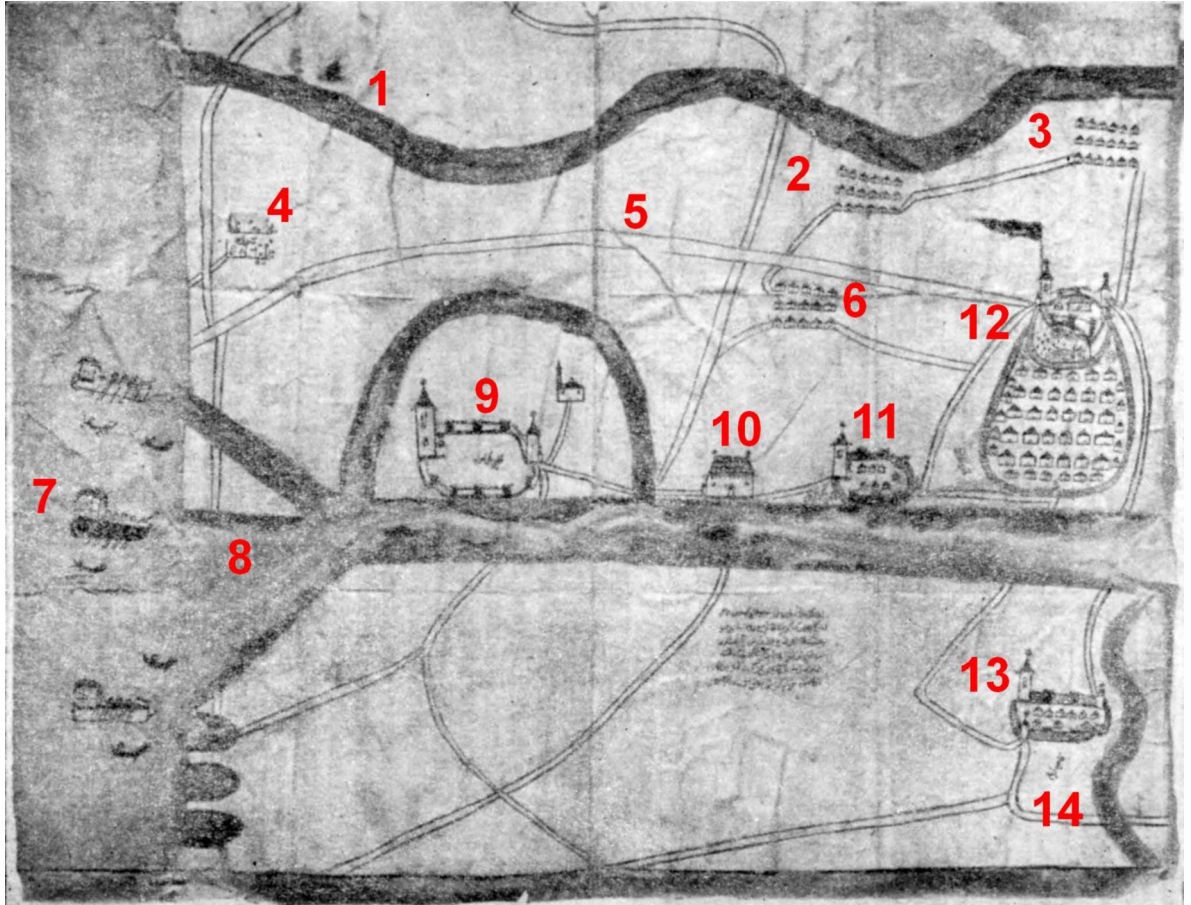
Turkish map of the Dnipro

F. Shabuldo (2005)

A. Dobrolyubsky and I. Smirnov (2022)

Conclusion

Yabu-town cannot be located. This name in the jarlyks should be considered a misunderstanding, a translation error, or a corrupted name that cannot be reconstructed.

Southern group

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

In order not to get lost the background events, I will mention

the situation in which my work was written: counted, that yesterday (January 23, 2024) 18 people were killed (8 of them in Kharkiv), 130 were wounded in Ukraine's attacks by the Muscovites.

22 injured in Kyiv, one warhead of the downed missile still exploded at Lokomotiv Stadium, causing serious damage to the building of the stadium services; in Sviatoshynsky district the warhead hit the apartment in a 5-story building and miraculously did not explode (January 24, 2024 at 8:06 am).

The names of the first group are reproduced in all jarlyks almost identically, without undergoing changes or distortions.

Instead, the names of the second group show considerable variability.

Today is the 701st day of the great aggressive war of the Rotten-Straw Horde against free and independent Ukraine. The war has been going on for the centuries, but today is such a small anniversary.

Horde noted his shelling of the town of Hirnyk in the Pokrovsky district of the Donetsk region: two killed, 8 wounded (January 25, 2024 at 8:01 am).

And now – the promised conclusions.

Kachibeyov – a tract with salty estuaries on the northern shore of the Black Sea around modern Odessa. It is impossible to derive from the mention of this name the existence of a castle / city / port there. In the jarlyks of the Crimean khans, this object, in addition to the list of grants, is mentioned in a separate article about salt mining.

Majak (Lighthouse) – the area at the bottom of the Dniester, immediately before its confluence with the Dniester estuary. There was a crossing over the Dniester, and *Majak* called some landmark visible from afar to go to this crossing. There was no castle / settlement / city here, the modern village of Mayaki arose at the end of the 18th century, after this territory came under the rule of the Russian Empire.

Dashiv both in ancient times and now it is located in the Gaysyn district of the Vinnytsia region. Placing it at the place of Ochakov at that time and today is a mistake of European cartographers of the 16th century.

Balykly – O. V. Biletska suggests seeing it at the confluence of the Chichikliya River in Bog [*O. V. Beletskaya* Balyklei in the 14th – 16th centuries. – Golden Horde civilization, 2017, vol. 10]. The problem is that modern archeology does not see any hillfort or settlement at this place [*Ivanova S. V., Ostroverkhov A. S., Saveliev O. K., Ostapenko P. V.* Essays on history and archaeology Bugo-Dniester interfluve. – K.: 2011, paragraph "The Golden Horde Age" on p. 214 – 232]. In the pool of Bog there is also Sugoklia and Gromoklia, but there is no Balyklia. Instead, we have an exact counterpart of the name in the town Balaklia in the Kharkiv region.

Karaul – a Tatar word that means "guard, sentry post" and is used in this sense to this day. The jarlyks confirm this understanding, giving the translation "guard town". There could be as many Karaul names as there were guards (something like every place where bog iron ore was mined was called Rudnya). At least one Karaul was located on the Dniester in the area of Rashkov, and the second – somewhere on the middle Bog.

Karaul-Rashkiv was called a village in 1545-1581, there are no mentions of the castle. On the other hand, there is a village in the Gaysyn district of the Vinnytsia region Strazhgorod – **exact match** name in jarlyks.

Chornyj Gorod (Black city) is another name for modern Bilgorod-Dniester. I assume that the city as a whole was called the Bilgorod (White City), and its section, occupied by Italians, had a special name, the Black City (Mauro castro), and therefore the Italian Portolans know only this Black City, and not the White City. Of all the objects of the southern group, this is the only real city with real fortifications and a real port, even with a separate castle. Of course, there can be no question that this real city was owned by some Lithuanian or some Tatars. It was actually owned by Moldova, and then it was conquered by Turkey. All other names denoted tracts at most.

Unclear names

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

On January 22, 2024, precisely on the day of the National Assembly of Ukraine, President V. O. Zelensky signed decree "About the territories of the Russian Federation historically inhabited by Ukrainians" – along the entire eastern border, from the Bryansk region to the Kuban. I think their demilitarization would protect our border from shelling from the most common types of weapons, which have not stopped since the summer of 2014 (I remember Zelenopillja!). You can also see here a cautious application for future territorial redistribution in the future peace (January 26, 2024 at 7:50 am).

Ugrom «tma»

Mushach

From the USA are reported, that the Republican governor of the state of Texas did not wait for migration reform, but gave the order to independently strengthen the border with Mexico. At the same time, the national guard of the state drove the border guards from the federal service out of their places. President Biden issued an ultimatum to allow these border guards to return to their posts. If all this is true – we have a tributary to the civil war (January 27, 2024 at 8:02).

Kudar

Other mysterious names

According to the number of obscure names, jarlyks can be divided into three chronological groups – the early (15th century) contains the most such names, the middle (1507-1541) contains the least, in the late (1542-1574) the number of obscure names increases again in parallel with other signs of poor understanding of lists.

Conclusions

A year has passed since the beginning of work on this chapter…

On the night of January 28/29, 2024, the air defense of Ukraine destroyed all 8 Iranian "Shaheds", which were used to attack Ukraine. They also write about one Iskander-M ballistic missile and three S-300 missiles launched in the Donetsk region. The 705th day of the great war, which has been going on for several centuries. This popular expression in modern journalism successfully reflects the real situation (January 29, 2024 at 9:00 a.m.)

The conclusions from the review of little-known names are disappointing. Obscure names remain unclear. For the localization of little-known names, jarlyks do not provide any food, moreover, on their basis it is not even possible to claim that this or that object really existed at the time of issuing the jarlyk.

Three groups can be defined by the number of unknown names: the early jarlyks (15th century) contain many such names, the middle group (1507-1541) contains the fewest, and in the late group (1542-1574) the number of such names increases again.

On the example of these names, it is very clear that the translators had no idea about the existence, location and real names of such objects. In the original jarlyks, written in Arabic letters, there were only skeletons of single-consonant charachters, the pronunciation of which the translators guessed based on their life experience and geographical knowledge.

That is why we see cases when the name, unclear in the early jarlyks, unexpectedly became "clear" in the middle ones and then again unclear in the later ones:

Here is the oak tree, here is the lake, Svetly Yar called by ours. And Kitezh itself is a big city on the opposite side.

What are you, dog! There is a small elm tree, a young birch tree grows there, and the places are empty and desert.

One man looks – and "sees" the city, and the other looks at the same thing – and "sees" only the forest.

Therefore, the clarity of many variants of names from the middle group of labels is illusory and reflects not reality, but only the achievements of translators in the struggle with the skeletons of names. The source value of such interpretations is very low.

Yagoldai's «tma»

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

The American state of Florida decided to join to the "Battle of Kalka", which the Republicans want to inflict on immigrants from Mexico. Florida is deploying its National Guard battalion to the Texas state border with Mexico.

Meanwhile, the chief intelligence officer of the United States, William J. Burns, published a very pessimistic article "Spycraft and Statecraft" (Spycraft and Statecraft – Foreign affairs, Jan 30, 2024), in which he noted:

China's rise and Russia's revanchism pose daunting geopolitical challenges in a world of intense strategic competition in which the United States no longer enjoys **uncontested primacy**.

And when – we ask ourselves – did this "uncontested primacy" slip out of the hands of the USA? (In the excerpts from the article that our press provided, this fragment was omitted, and it seems important to me. February 2, 2024 at 8:25 am).

Jarlyk texts

What do we know about Yagoldai

Jagolday settlement

Historiography

Joseph Wolff (1895)
Fedir Petrun (1928)
Stanislav Krychynsky (1934)
Stefan Kuchynsky (1934)
Stefan Kuchynsky (1936)
Arsen Nasonov (1940)

Once upon a time, more than a year ago, I mentioned about a possible response to the actions of anti-Dühring forces from the city of Engels, who are firing rockets at Ukraine.

And now we have news – it was in the city of Engels that Major Stegachev, commander of the Tu-95 bomber, got his award. No, he didn't fall out of the 32nd floor window and not explode in the elevator – he was trivially shot with a firearm. Out of caution, they do not write "killed" yet – as in the famous joke: "Well, they will not sigh, but they will no longer have that health" (February 4, 2024 at 8:07).

Berthold Spuler (1943)
Olena Rusyna (2001)
Dmytro Chursin (2021)

> While the US Congress is working hard to **do not approve** aid to Ukraine, the Muscovites rubbed their eyes and started shooting at Ukraine again. Around 6:58 I heard two explosions distinctly and one faintly. They write about the air alert throughout Ukraine, about the flight of rockets in several regions and the work of air defense.
>
> Well, I didn't have time to finish this digression when I heard two more new, relatively close and distinct explosions (February 7, 2024 at 7:41 am). To be continued…

Berkovo D. Chursin solves as Berkovets – a former farm on the western outskirts of Kyiv. One can agree with this, and three exact matches (in the Vitebsk, Vladimir and Tver regions) to reject.

> Yay, another distinct explosion and one that seems distant (Feb 7, 2024 at 8:03 am). To be continued…

So, the indisputable merit of D. Chursin is a carefully compiled anthology of news concerning Yagoldai and some valid assumptions. He failed to attract new materials. The article provides a summary of previous studies and provides a good basis for further studies.

And are they needed, these further studies? I think they are needed.

> They write, that power lines and heat supply lines were damaged on the left bank in Kyiv. In the Golosiivsky district – ignition multi-apartment building. Well, until Dmytro Chursin's compatriots did not killed me and not deprived me of electricity and heat – I will continue (February 7, 2024 at 8:53).

Toponyms
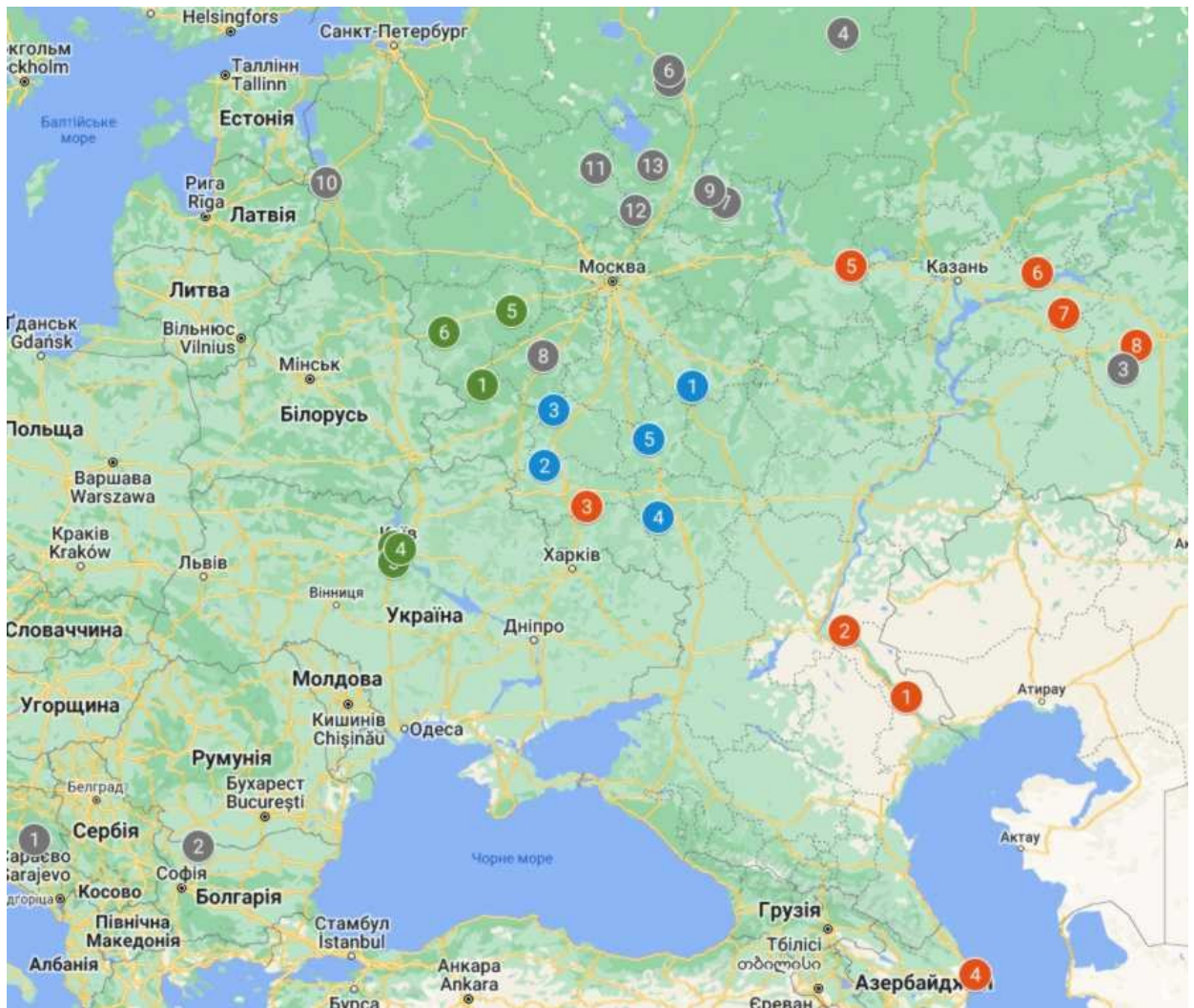
(Perhaps, it is more convenient to view this map in a separate window: google.com.)

They write already about 6 victims and about a fire on several floors of an 18-story building in Golosiivsky district (February 7, 2024 at 9:14 am).

An attempt at a rational interpretation

The results of yesterday's air attack by the Pushkinists: in Kyiv 4 killed, 40 injured, 355 residential buildings were left without heating, in Mykolaiv 1 killed, 12 wounded, 119 private houses damaged.

Congress in the USA continues simulate an activity, "as if it's none of his business" (February 8, 2024 at 8:00 AM).

"Yagoldai's tma" never denoted any territory, but only a group of people subordinate to Yagoldai.

General observations

Muscovites were so happy message about the release of General Zaluzhny, that a bonfire celebration was held in Moscow: the fire covered 4,000 square meters, 4 houses burned down, in some places the ceilings collapsed.

All this is good, but very little. The area of Moscow is 2,511 square km, therefore, only 1.5 million parts were burned. For the fire of 1812 repeats, Muscovites still have to work hard.

They mainly approached the celebration in the settlement Kuyeda in the Perm region (1,800 km from Kyiv). There or the train caught fire and because of that, the gas pipeline exploded, or the gas pipeline exploded and because of that, the train started fire, but a good part of the settlement burned down. Keep it up!

And for dessert caught fire 2 (two!) oil refineries in the Krasnodar Territory – Ilsky and Afipsky.

If only it were like that every day! (February 10, 2024 at 9:47 am)

List options

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.
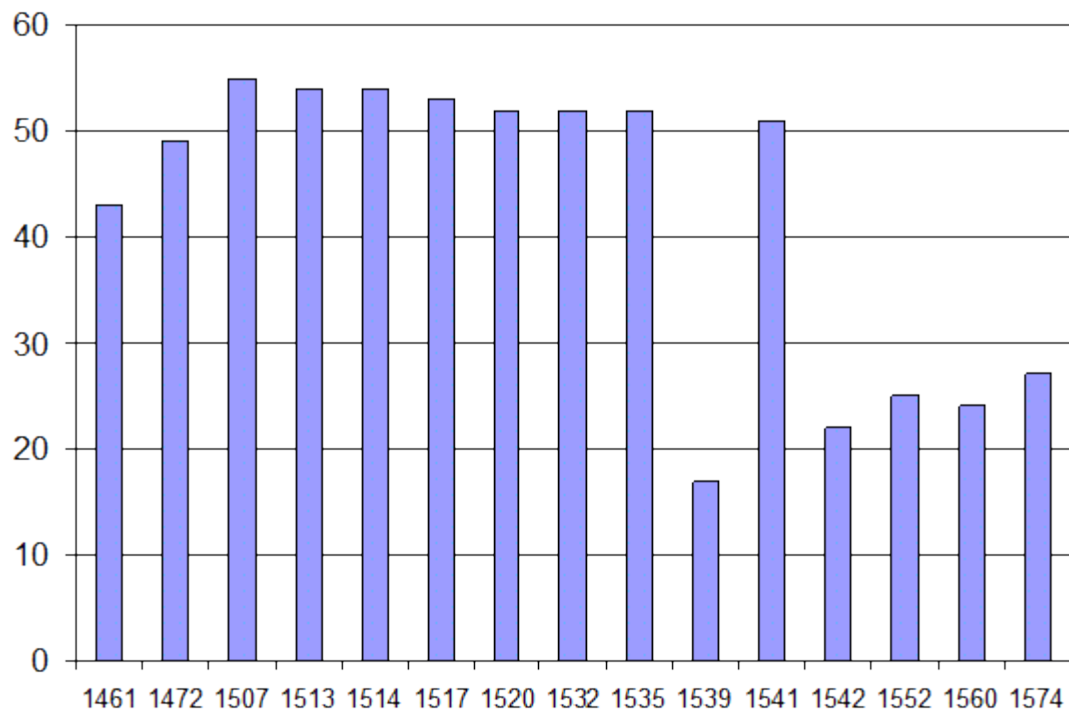
The number of objects in jarlyks

Even from these numbers, three groups of jarlyks are clearly visible: early (1461, 1472), middle (1507 – 1535, 1541) and late (1539, 1542 – 1574). These data are an independent confirmation of the existence of three chronological groups of labels, which have already been highlighted on the basis of other observations.

Objects and their names

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

> They write: On February 10, 2024, three "Shahed" drones hit an oil depot in Kharkiv, 15 neighboring houses burned down, 57 people were injured, and the worst of all, seven people died, including a whole family (parents and three children). Today (February 11) is a day of mourning in Kharkiv.
>
> On the night of February 11, Pushkinists launched 45 Shaheds, of which 40 were shot down. They write, that some of them were flying to Kyiv, but all of them were shot down on approaches. At least I haven't heard anything (Feb 11, 2024 at 8:06 am).

In the following table, I will summarize all observations on the lists of names in all jarlyks. Some objects have more than one name.

The following notations are used in the table:

– (А) and green background – indisputable, reliably identified objects;
– (Б) and yellow background – simple, acceptable assumptions;
– (В) and red background – complex, unlikely assumptions;
– (Г) and orange background – it was not possible to interpret, unclear names;
– (Д) and blue background – erroneously clear names;
– (Е) and purple background – erroneously unclear (corrupted) names.
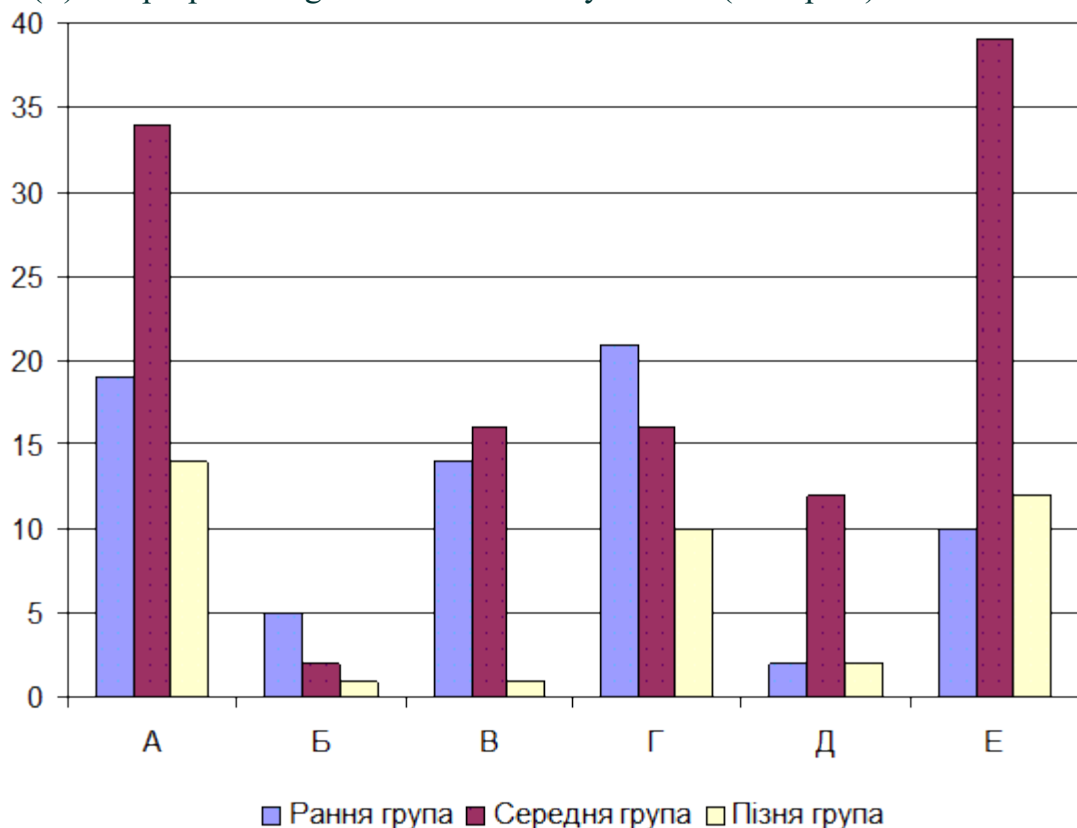
Number of different object classes in jarlyk groups

The distribution of names by class for the most populated middle group of jarlyks looks like this:
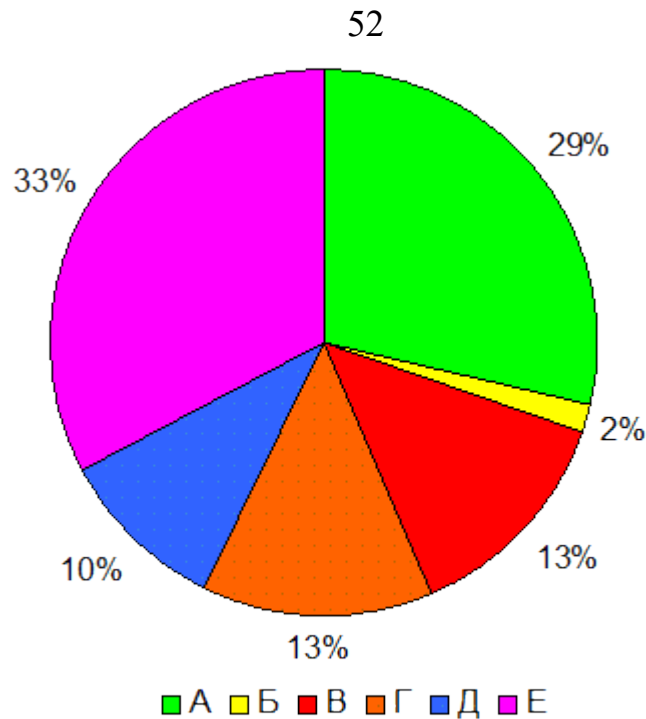
Distribution of names by classes in the middle group of jarlyks

A large number of corrupted names in jarlyks requires considering the development of spellings in each position of the list to identify the most correct and understandable one. But even these understandable names can be misunderstood, the guesses of the translators of the jarlyks, who tried to decipher the words written in Arabic letters that were unclear to them.

Order and disorder in lists

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Researchers believe that if in the list of objects A, B, C, the unknown object B is placed between the known objects A and C, then this means that object B should be searched for **in space** between A and C.

This position has never been substantiated, but it is so widespread that it has become an axiom, the indisputable basis of all reasoning: how could it be otherwise?

Meanwhile, the above maps of indisputable objects show that it could have been different and actually was different. It is not possible to deduce from the order of objects in the lists **no idea** about the location of unknown objects.
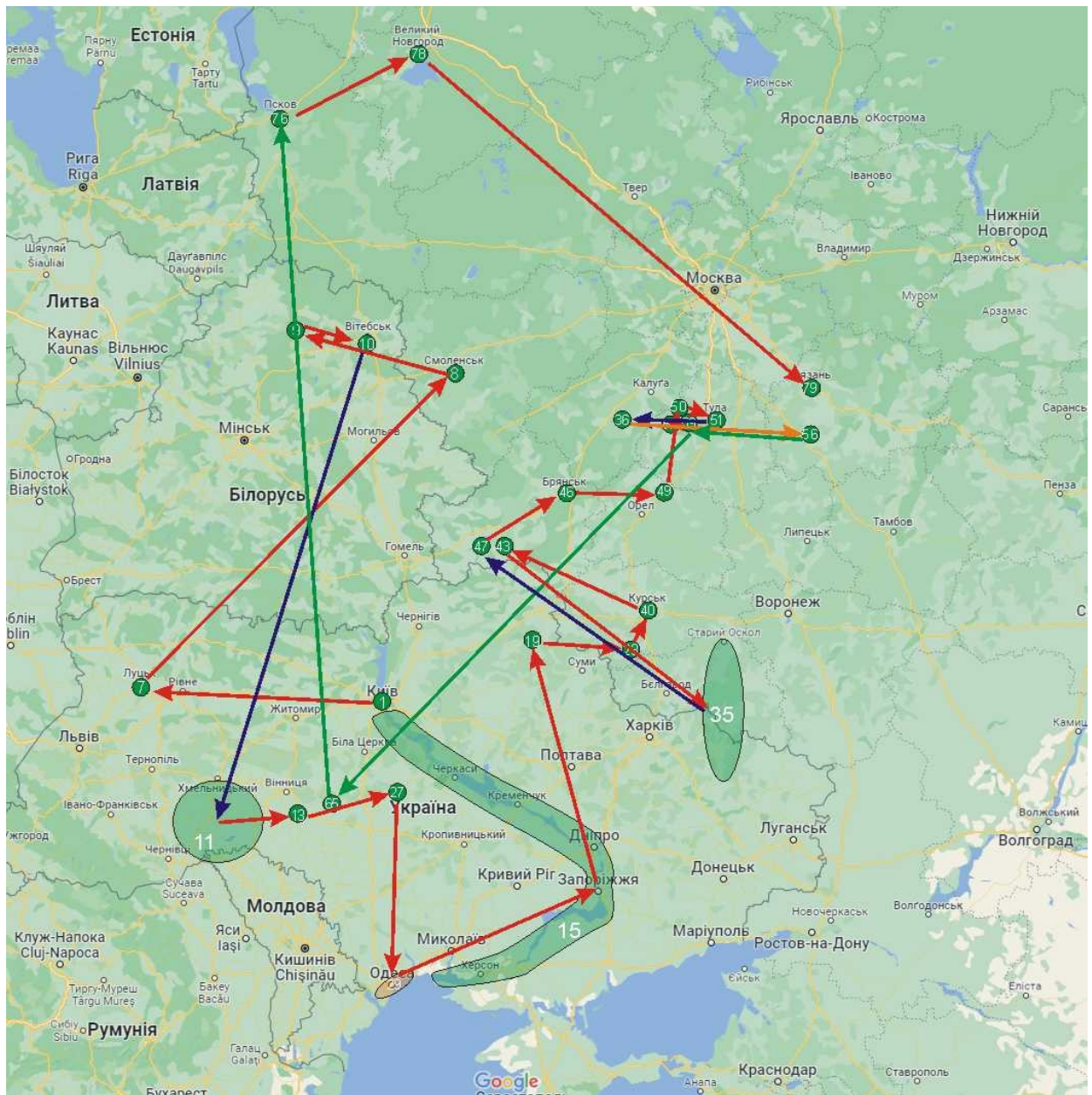
Let's take for analysis a well-filled list from the jarlyk of 1514. The approximately-optimal route I laid out looks like this:
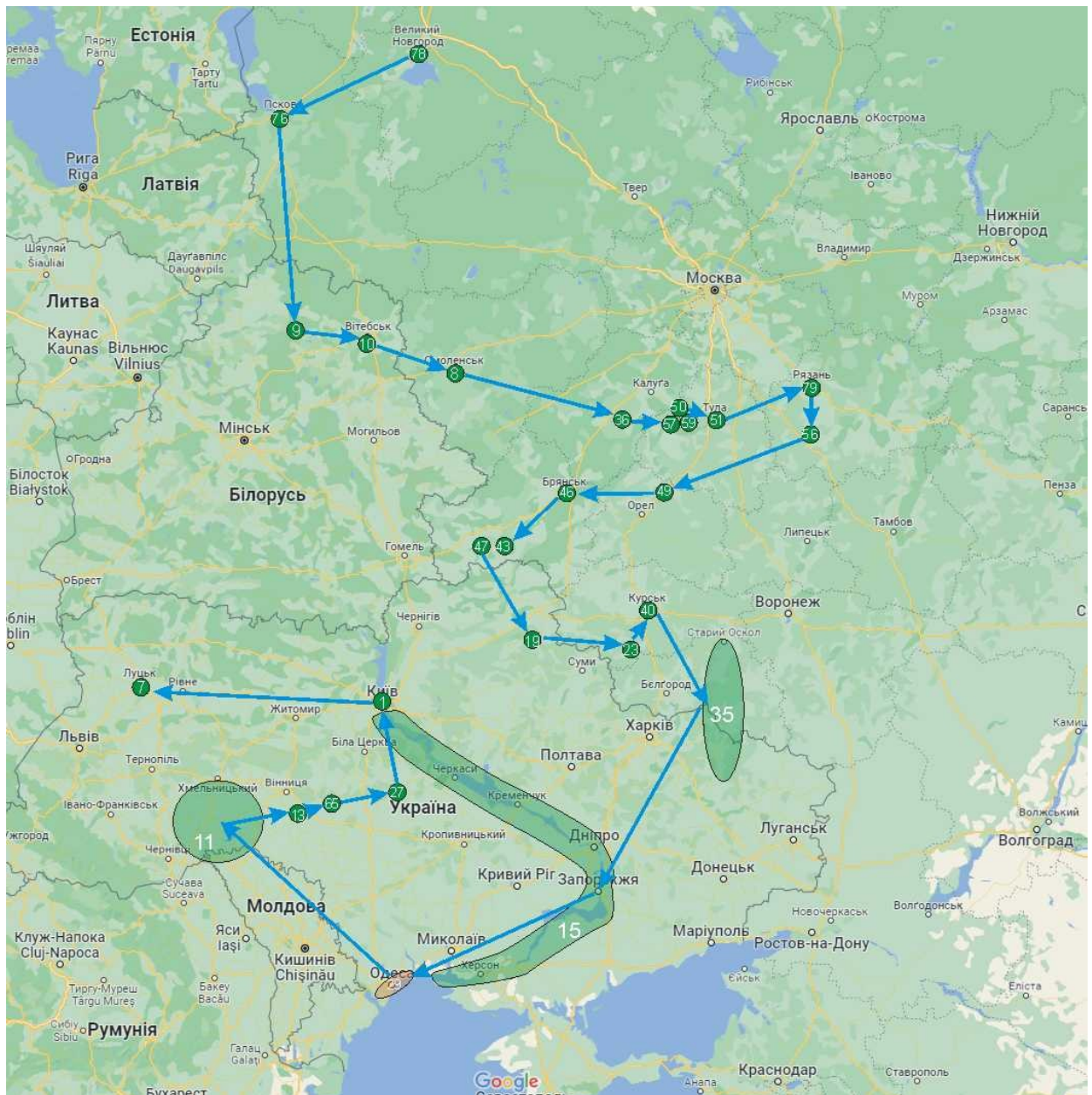
The optimal route of the 1514 jarlyk

Its total length is 4411 km. (I'd appreciate it if someone could come up with a more economical route.)
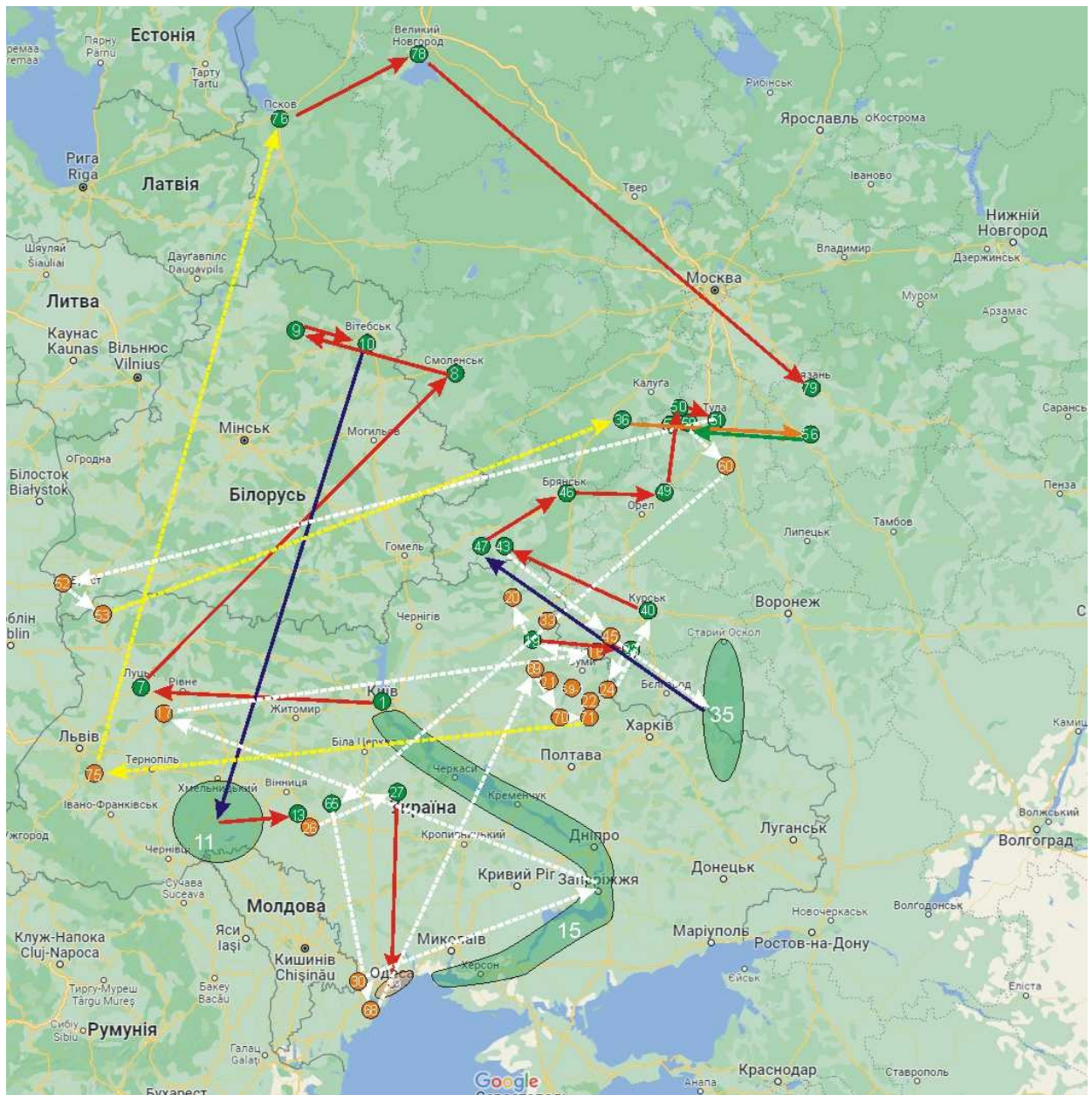
The route specified in the jarlyk looks like this:

1514 jarlyk route (undisputed objects)

Its total length is 8435 km (almost twice as long) and the entropy, respectively, is 191%.

Now let's add hypothetically localized objects to the route specified in the jarlyk:

Route of the 1514 jarlyk
(indisputable and hypothetical objects)

Although I made the connecting lines to the hypothetical objects white / yellow dashed, the scheme looks very confusing, and this is a true impression. The total length of the route is 13,426 km, i.e. 304% of the minimum and 159% of the length specified in the jarlyk. Therefore, an attempt to enter hypothetical objects into the route significantly increases chaos (entropy) and refutes the usual, but not well-founded assumption that the list follows a geographical sequence.

I willingly believe that on a general map the scheme of bypassing Severshchyna cannot be analyzed, so I present it on a separate scheme on a larger scale:
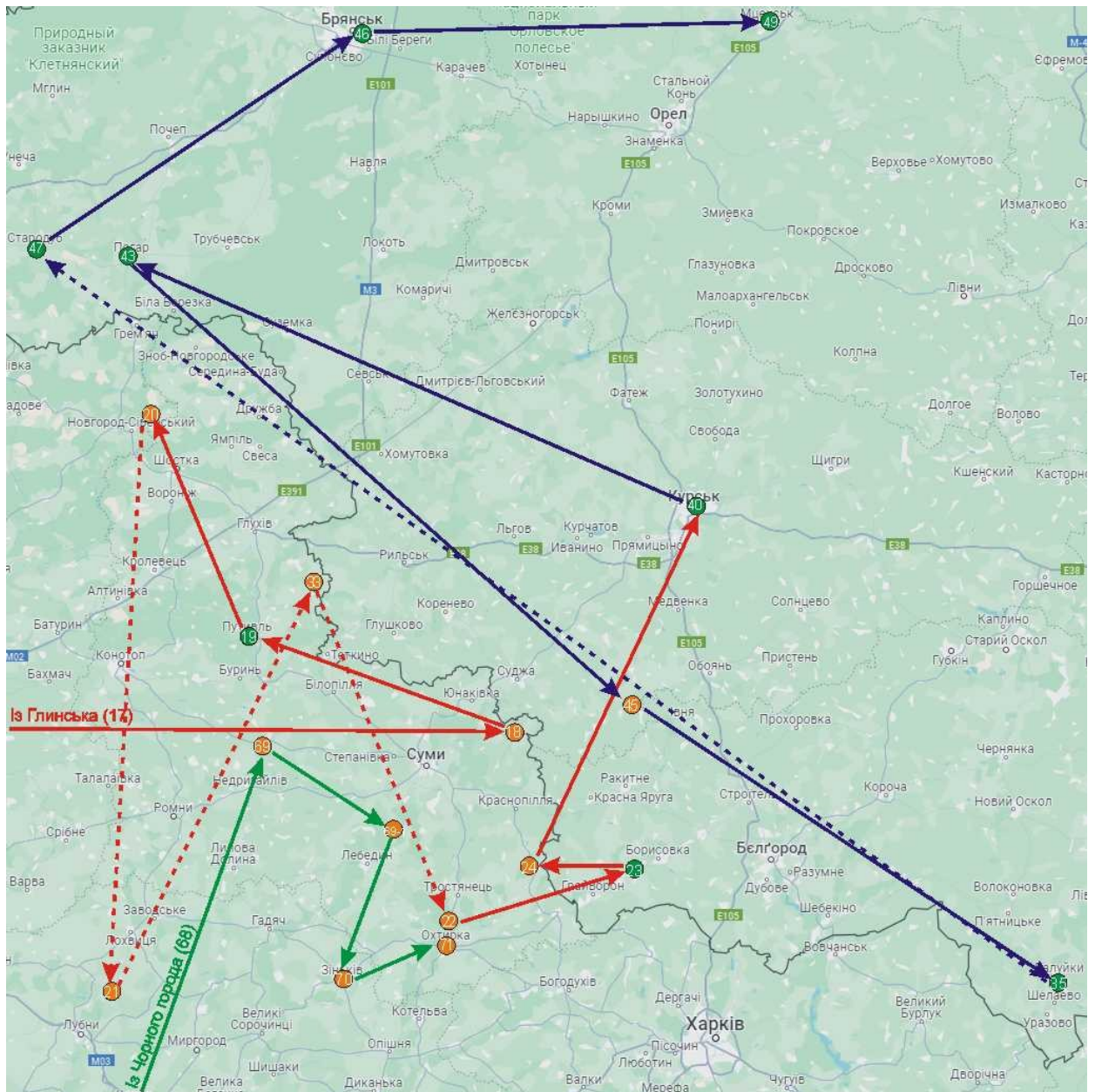
The route of the jarlyk of 1514 in Severshchyna

The diagram shows how the list returns to Severshchyna four times. How the researchers saw some kind of geographical arrangement here – I can't guess.

Who received jarlyks

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Inscription (formula indicating the recipient of the document) in the jarlyks of the Crimean Khans **never** contain the name of the ruler to whom the document is addressed.

I think the inscription was copied from some ancient Golden Horde jarlyk. For the times when Crimean jarlyks were written, it was completely outdated and, moreover, did not correspond to the realities of relations between the rulers of Crimea and Lithuania. But it was included in the jarlyk of 1461, and in the future it was tightly held as a formula recognized by both sides.

Motivation for issuing jarlyks

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

The reason for the granting of territories was first outlined in the jarlyk of 1461, and further we have only variations on its theme, not always happy ones.

But this reason is formulated formally and does not explain the motives of Haji-Girey's actions. Well, some contender for power in the Horde fled to the GDL after being defeated, well, he was accepted in the GDL – but what was Haji-Girey connection with this adventure? It wasn't him who ran away and he wasn't given asylum, so he wasn't obliged to feel gratitude.

I think that the whole story with the sweaty horses was made up to at least somehow motivate the issuance of the jarlyk. In fact, the initiator was King Casimir, and Haji-Girey only agreed to his proposal.

Jarlyks and politics in Eastern Europe

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

> Today (February 15, 2024) I slept peacefully and heard nothing – thanks to the effective work of our anti-aircraft defense. [They write](), that all cruise missiles that were flying towards Kyiv were shot down on the approach to the city. Pushkinoids also attacked other regions, so far there is only limited information.
>
> But it is encouraging that Muscovites are fulfilling our hopes [set fire to the house]() "Izvestia Hall", fire area 1500 square meters, neighboring buildings are on fire. Well, Izvestia will lie less.
>
> Also in the Kursk region [the oil depot caught fire]().
>
> One can only wish the Lermontovites: "Let this never ended!" (February 15, 2024 at 7:55 am)

List of Vytautas' possessions

I finish today's portion of work to the sounds of air raid sirens (February 15, 2024 at 10:50).

The first real jarlyk (1461)

Imaginary and real borders

Jarlyks of Mengli-Girey for Grand Duke Sigismund

Jarlyks of the following khans

The real borders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

So, in the 16th century the government of the GDL operated with two types of land lists – realistic lists were used in relations with Moscow, on the other hand, imaginary lists were used in draft jarlyks and later in jarlyks of the Crimean khans, as well as in documents for internal use.

Conclusions

Everyone in Muscovy is convinced that they are fighting against NATO. On the territory of Ukraine, it is so – but against NATO. This is what they say everywhere – from kindergartens to professional historians, the Duma and the president.

Ukrainian commentators love to make fun of such statements, but it seems to me that they are not quite right. Let's say, in Vietnam, who fought with whom? The Soviets did not hide the fact that they were waging a war against the United States in Vietnam, and this was the reason they justified the large-scale military-technical assistance they provided to the communist government of Vietnam.

Even now, the non-recognition of the very fact of the existence of an independent Ukraine and the war against NATO harmonize well in the bones of Muscovites, whom they jokingly call their heads.

And it is in vain that NATO ignores such rhetoric. "When they will get to what" – no one will be able to say that he was not warned for 10 years or more.

The fact of NATO's defeat in the fight against Russia admitted today and US President Biden, accusing Congress of inaction that led to the capture of Avdijivka by the Muscovites. So Muscovites, unlike our observers, know well where the key to success lies (February 18, 2024 at 8:22 am).

1. Jarlyks with lists of geographical objects "granted" to the Grand Duke of Lithuania were issued only by the Crimean khans from 1461 to 1574. Other Tatar rulers did not issue such jarlyks, and there are no traces of older Tatar documents in the jarlyks either.

2. The list of geographic objects is based on a hypothetical list of Vytautas' territorial gains, compiled in 1430 in connection with his coronation plan. This list was also reflected in the "List of Švitrigaila's towns" (1432).

3. The very first list in the jarlyk of 1461 became the basis of all subsequent versions of the list, although there is not a single pair of jarlyks that would contain the same list.

3.1. The grant project was prepared by the government of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; it reflects the political interests of the GDL, its real holdings, its perception of its holdings, and its claims to holdings.

3.2. This project was approved by the Crimean Khan; at the same time, the list of geographical names was transcribed in Arabic script.

3.3. The approved jarlyk was forwarded to Grand Duke Casimir, and his scribe translated the document into Polish, experiencing great difficulty in guessing geographical names.

3.4. Oddly enough, one gets the impression that during the translation at this stage, the comparison with the draft list was not carried out, and therefore some names were reconstructed unsuccessfully (this is especially well seen in the example of the pair *Putivl – Budula*). In a number of such cases, one can directly speak of a

misunderstanding: the project had one name, and during the reconstruction, another was guessed (for example, *Retan – Ratno*).

3.5. We also have all the later jarlyks in Polish or Ruthenian translations, and I think the procedure for putting them together was the same.

4. The inscription on the jarlyks contains outdated concepts and titles that were not used in the Crimean Khanate, instead **does not contain** in the name of the ruler of Lithuania / Poland, who received the grant. It is possible that such an inscription was borrowed from some ancient Golden Horde jarlyk.

5. The motives for the grant of lands, set forth in the jarlyks themselves, are couched in very vague terms, and seem to mask the real reason rather than to explain it. From the fact that the currently unknown "elder brother" of Haji-Girey was hiding in Lithuania, one cannot in any way infer the gratitude of Haji-Girey himself, who was not hiding there. Later jarlyks simply vary this motif, arbitrarily stretching "hiding" to later khans and grand dukes.

6. Any "jarlyk of Tokhtamysh" for Vytautas from the end of the 14th century did not exist, there was only a verbal contract between them. Mentions of Tokhtamysh in jarlyks from 1472 to 1520 (but not 1461!) are of a general nature and do not explicitly mention a written document.

7. Jarlyks had some significance for practical politics. They gave:

7.1. Recognition of the Crimean khan as the superior (suzerain) of the Grand Duke of Lithuania, whom the khan bestows lands on.

7.2. Demarcation (in very general terms) of the territories of the Crimean Khanate and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the separation of those lands where the Crimean Tatars could plunder without violating interstate agreements, from those lands where they could plunder in violation of these agreements.

7.3. The refusal of the Crimean khans to get tribute from the granted lands (in 1499, Mengli-Girey raised the issue of receiving tribute from Kyiv, so such a refusal was worth something).

7.4. Hope for the regulation of political relations in Eastern Europe with the help of jarlyks with the granting of lands (in 1514, the same Mengli-Girey complained that the Moscow prince Vasyl seized Smolensk, which he, Mengli-Girey, had granted to Grand Duke Sigismund). Such a tool for regulating relations turned out to be ineffective, but this became clear only with the passage of time.

7.5. In the jarlyks of 1507-1574, together with the grant of lands, there is always present an article about the duty of the Crimean Khan to win back the lands captured by Moscow and hand them over to the Grand Duke of Lithuania. The Crimean khans did not make any real attempts in this direction, but such a threat existed all the time, and it could not be discounted.

8. The jarlyks can be divided into three chronological groups: early (1461, 1472), middle (1507 – 1541) and late (1539 – 1574). The middle group of labels is supplemented by places in Severshchyna (which GDL lost at that time). The late group of jarlyks provides a list of objects in a decidedly abbreviated form. In general, the lists reflect the change in the territorial composition of the GDL (actually, the reduction of its territory) with a significant delay.

9. It is advisable to study the geographical names of jarlyks in two ways: 1, it is interesting to find out what real geographical objects they denote; 2, what Lithuanian

figures were thinking when translating and reading these names (a kind of mental geography, different from the geography of the real world).

10. Grant formulas are characterized by great variability and are the result of clerical work. They do not reflect the real conditions of ownership of specific objects. Only the refusal to receive tribute was real, but it is indicated in a small part of the formulas.

11. Terms *tumen / tma* are not used in the records of the Lithuanian government anywhere, except for the jarlyks under consideration. Instead, the *povit (county)* term is widely and generally used. The jarlyk of 1520 translates *tumen* not as *tma*, namely as *county*, which proves the equivalence of these terms. Territorial composition of *tma-s* corresponds to the district division of the GDL, no "Golden Order tradition" can be traced here.

12. *Yagoldai's tma* (and maybe *Ugrom tma*) does not denote any territory, but only a group of persons subordinate to one chief.

13. The list, which in the most complete version includes 55 objects, has no internal structure. Attempts to group objects are artificial research constructs, and no such grouping passes through all jarlyks, not realized by jarlyk makers. The list looks chaotic, and it is not possible to guess the general principle of its construction.

14. It is a quantitative measure of the chaotic nature of the list *entropy* – the ratio of the length of the real route specified by the document to the minimum length of the route between the same objects. It reaches 300%.

15. Due to the chaotic nature of the list, it cannot be assumed in any way that an unknown object placed in the list between two known objects is territorially located between them. Numerous cases of arbitrary bounces from one territory to another and returns to the previous one force us to assume the possibility of such a bounce for each unknown object.

16. All names of objects can be divided into three large groups: 1, quite clear undisputed names; 2, completely incomprehensible names or those that require large and complex assumptions; 3, corrupted spellings of the names of previous groups. But among the completely clear names there is a dangerous subgroup of illusory-clear names, which appeared as a result of translators' inability to guess the correct names.

16.1. *Putivl* is often called in jarlyks *Budula*, which may not be resolved during translation *Podillja*.

16.2. *Sokilets tma* in jarlyks are often, but quite erroneously, attached to Sokilets on Bog, which was never the center of the county. In other lists, this town has the illusory and clear name Sokal (a town in Galicia). This object should be considered Skala-Podilska, the district center of the Podil Voivodeship in the 15th century.

16.3. *Sneporod* never really existed, it's a mistake of the jarlyk translators. It is not possible to reliably guess the prototype of the name.

16.4. *Glynsk* in the jarlyks of the middle group – an illusory-clear name. Neither the early nor the late jarlyks know it, offering other names, in particular, the illusory-clear Minsk. This object did not exist at the time the jarlyks were issued.

16.5. The "Putyvl group" of names is conditionally highlighted. The lists return to this area four times, adding new objects. These names (with the exception of Khotmyzk) cannot be convincingly localized, and there is doubt that settlements with such names actually existed.

16.6. *Oskol* in the jarlyks it denotes a river, not a settlement.

16.7. Name *Donets* originally referred to a small tributary of the Don in the Tula region, and later became an illusory-clear name of the Seversky Donets.

16.8. *Berestej and Ratun* originally referred to minor places near Tula. They were forgotten after the middle of the 15th century. In later jarlyks, they were replaced by the illusory-clear names of Brest and Ratno in Volyn.

16.9. *Yabu-town* it is not possible to localize, perhaps we have a misunderstanding during the translation.

17. The geographical lists in the jarlyks do not reflect specific political realities – in contrast to the Lithuanian-Moscow treaties with their specifically delineated borders. They give only a general, imaginary picture of the territories that the Crimean Khanate once allegedly owned and which the Crimean Khans now, due to their characteristic generosity, granted to the Grand Dukes of Lithuania. This "demarcation" did not in the least prevent the Crimean Tatars from attacking and plundering the "ceded" lands of modern Ukraine. The Lithuanian government tolerated these attacks in the vain hope that the Crimean Khanate would somehow help in the war against Moscow (which is indicated in the jarlyks), but this never happened.

Historiography

Shortened text of the section. Full text in ukrainian version.

Characterizing the strength of the international coalition in support of Ukraine, they like to talk, that its total gross domestic product is 21 times greater than that of Russia.

Maybe on paper it is really so, but in this case ours would have to respond with 21 shots (well, at least twenty!) for every shot of the Russian artillery. In fact, the Muscovites fire 5-6 times more shells than the Ukrainian army. Why don't we see this gigantic advantage of our coalition on the battlefield? Is it not because it is easier to enjoy the thought of one's strength on paper or directly on the computer screen than in the natural dimension?

But the relative strength of states is measured precisely in wars, not in the competition of numbers (February 19, 2024 at 9:18).

Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866 – 1934) in 1907 published a short article "Khan's jarlyk for Russian lands, issued in to the princes of Lithuania" [*Hrushevsky M.* History of Ukraine-Russia. – Lviv: 1907, vol. 4, p. 457 – 462].

Further **Bohdan Barvinsky** (1880 – 1958) in 1909 published the article "Two mysterious Khan jarlyks on Russian lands from the 2nd half 15th century" – first in the Lviv newspaper "Ruslan", and then in a more accessible collection of his articles [*Barvinsky B.* Historical reasons. – Zhovkva: 1909, v. 2, p. 11 – 21].

Fedir Petrun (1894 – 1963) published a larger article "Khan jarlyks to Ukrainian lands (to the question of Tatar Ukraine)" [Eastern World, 1928, No. 2, p. 170-185; reprint: Eastern World, 1993, No. 2, p. 133 – 143].

Felix Shabuldo (1941 – 2012) devoted his article "Did there exist a Mamai jarlyk to Ukrainian lands?" [The Sinivodsk problem in recent research. – K.: 2005, p. 100 – 122].

Dariusz Kolodziejchyk in 2011 published a large book (also in English) [*Kołodziejczyk D.* The Crimean khanate and Poland-Lithuania: international diplomacy on the European periphery (15th–18th century): a study of peace treaties followed by annotated documents. – Boston; Leiden, 2011. – 1135 p.]. The collection of documents attached to it became the basis of my research and, I think, will be the basis of many more monographs.

In general, D. Kolodziejchyk's book deserves the highest praise and marks the beginning of a new stage in the study of the jarlyks of the Crimean khans.

Vladyslav Gulevich in 2017 published an article useful for my topic [*Gulevich V.* Somewhat observes regarding the problem of the "granting" of Rus' lands to Casimir IV in the jarlyks of the Crimean khans Hadji Girey of 1461 and Mengli Girey of 1472 – Colloquia russica, Series I, vol. 7, Krakow 2017, p. 369 – 378].

Viktor Talakh in 2018 he published his translation jarlyk of 1461 as an appendix to the work "Noon and Twilight of the Great Land" with some interesting interpretations of the names.

So, despite the fact that the study of jarlyks of the Crimean khans has advanced significantly since the time of M. Hrushevsky, geographical lists in the jarlyks have not yet become the subject of a comprehensive study.

List of abbreviations

D. K. – edition of jarlyks, prepared by Dariusz Kolodziejczyk [*Kołodziejczyk D*. The Crimean khanate and Poland-Lithuania: international diplomacy on the European periphery (15th–18th century): a study of peace treaties followed by annotated documents. – Boston; Leiden, 2011. – 1135 p.].

GDL – Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

KBCH – A large drawing book [Moscow: 1950].

LM – Lietuvos metrika. Record books (užrašymų knygos) were used:

No. 3 (1440 – 1498) – Vilnius: 1998;

No. 4 (1479 – 1491) – Vilnius: 2004;

No. 6 (1494 – 1506) – Vilnius: 2007;

No. 7 (1506 – 1539) – Vilnius: 2011.

No. 8 (1499 – 1514) – Vilnius: 1995.

SGS – List of Švitrigaila's towns [*S. V. Polekhov* "List of towns of Švitrigaila". Dating and publication. – Ancient Rus'. Questions of medieval studies, 2014, No. 4 (58), p. 111 – 125].

SRG – List of Rus' towns [Novgorod first chronicle of the oldest and youngest editions. – M.-L., 1950, p. 475 – 477].